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THE INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION POLLS ON THE LEGISLATOR

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Social scientists today are increasingly interested in what their methodologies can contribute to legislative consideration of social and economic issues. A point at which their assistance could be effectively utilized occurs when a legislative committee is considering the presentations of those who are arguing the merits of proposed legislation. The value of citing results of public opinion polls is often emphasized in this connection.

The only concern of this paper is to formulate some hypotheses to utilize in reaching the answer to the question: Will the effectiveness of an argument before a legislative body be enhanced by evidence that a majority of the individuals polled support the favored side of an issue? If this requirement is satisfied by the public opinion poll, it would seem that the legislator would react favorably to the "side" having the support of the majority. For the legislator has a fundamental interest in the preservation of his political prestige and power.

I believe that the effectiveness of an argument is *not* enhanced by scientific proof that a majority of those individuals sampled support a given side of an issue.

My reasoning is outlined under the following points: (1) public opinion polling's conception of public opinion, (2) the legislator's reaction to use of public opinion polls, (3) some suggestions for the legislator's needs.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLING'S CONCEPTION OF PUBLIC OPINION

The public opinion poll relies heavily on the assumption that public opinion is a mathematical distribution of individual opinions individually tallied. Equal influence, equal power, and equal intensity are assumed to characterize one individual opinion as compared with another. The

individual himself is considered a "social atom" whose decisions are readily available and independently made about a multitude of issues. One receives the impression that any public opinion not capable of being broken down into equal parts is something floating in space and can be likened to the fiction of the group soul.

Yet numerical totals, pluralities, or averages are not indicative of the extent to which opinions of all sorts and degrees of intensity have contributed to public opinion. They only tell us what tabulated groups of individuals, crudely and inaccurately classified, reply to specific questions.

Very few have been sufficiently critical to undertake the analysis of public opinion polling's conception of public opinion. But the issue is very adequately joined by Herbert Blumer:

I refer to the narrow operationalist position that public opinion consists of what public opinion polls poll. Here, curiously, the findings resulting from an operation, or use of an instrument, are regarded as constituting the object of study instead of being some contributory addition to knowledge of the object of study. The operation ceases to be a guided procedure on behalf of an object of inquiry; instead the operation determines intrinsically its own objective.¹

This thing known as public opinion is not isolated by the pollsters for definition, analysis, and measurement. Regardless of the thousands of polls which have been taken, almost no generalizations have issued having to do with the fundamental nature of public opinion.

THE LEGISLATOR'S REACTION TO USE OF PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Will the effectiveness of an argument before a legislative body be enhanced by evidence that a majority of the individuals polled support the favored side of an issue? This writer believes *not*.

It is doubtful that the poll adequately reflects the degree of presence or absence of popular inertia—the one quality of his constituents for which the legislator is often on the lookout so as never to be slapped down by it and so that he may be able to take advantage of it wherever possible.

The legislator does not know how many of those polled are members of that portion of society which is contributing materially to the structuralization of public opinion on the issue before him. Unless the legislator can identify those opinions specifically cited by the poll with the

¹ Herbert Blumer, "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling," *American Sociological Review*, 13:543.

alignments of influence determining his power, he has no particular reason to assume that the results of the poll reveal opinions of significance to him. This point may also be illustrated another way by suggesting that the legislator has no idea what proportion of ballots was marked by those who are powerful and those who are not, those who vote and those who stay at home, those who are community leaders and those who are social hermits. Present stratified sampling procedures do not allow for this simply through the time-honored concerns with sex, occupation, race, social class, and educational achievement.

The legislator does not know whether a poll ballot suggests a genuine opinion on the basis of which the person marking it would act; nor does he know to what extent the individual opinion speaks for the respondent's friends, relatives, members of a working or fraternal group.

It is a much longer step between expressing a socially-expected tolerant opinion and being considerate of another's religious or racial characteristics in terms of actual deeds than it is between expressing an opinion and voting. . . . should such instances of predictability (elections) also sanction estimates of probable behavior in fields somewhat more remote from a question-and-answer exercise?²

One who would argue that the legislator is favorably impressed by the results of a public opinion poll must not fail to appreciate the argument that the respondent is too often polled only at one spot on a time continuum. The legislator must publicly commit himself when voting, although his constituents may change. Politics often result in an *ex post facto* judgment of a legislator's vote, for public opinion, including the legislator's own opinion, may change on a particular issue in a year or two, but his recorded vote can be used to crucify him at the polls. Or the legislator may feel that what he can do in defense of his vote can strengthen his hold regardless of any disagreement that the polls may inform him is expressed with his position.

The alert politician will ask himself whether the opinion poll is actually contrasting the noes of a strong, well-organized minority with the yeses of a majority relatively indifferent to his tenure. Given a blob of straw votes bisected with so little interpretation into a majority and minority, the legislator will react to the majority in terms of whether or not he shared the point of view attributed to it in the first place.

² Alfred McClung Lee, "Public Opinion in Relation to Culture," *Psychiatry*, 8:49.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE LEGISLATOR'S NEEDS

The legislator wants to make use of the public opinion poll. Many officeholders have already subsidized polls in their districts in order to determine how closely what they wanted to say appeared to tally with what was already being said.³

Although almost no studies have been made of this paper's subject, legislators in one instance expressed at least vague desires to comply with what then (ten years ago) were public opinion polls in their infancy.⁴

And, already, the public opinion poll has given effective aid to the public administrator. The myth of a supercompetent public notwithstanding, suggestions from citizens in the aggregate should be obtained to test the apparent strength and counteract the powerhouse tactics of some pressure groups.⁵

Although no formula offers itself to increase the influence of poll results on the legislator, some suggestions emerge in considering this problem.

1. The public opinion pollsters will do their methodologies a favor by publicizing the manner of their application. A legislator who has never been approached by a public opinion pollster, and cannot understand why he is not acquainted with anyone who has, lacks confidence regarding the grass-roots import of polls in general.

2. Public opinion polls have been most widely touted in the area of political behavior, although far more constructive accomplishments have been quietly recorded in the fields of market and policy research. Chances are that legislators will feel more inclined to go along with the results of polls which do not constantly serve as the basis for unfounded predictions or grist for campaign material and emotional arguments.

3. The public opinion poll, if it is to deal with patterns of opinion and not merely their aggregates, should be conducted with knowledge of the community in which the respondents reside. The prestige and availability of local mass mediums, the function of social class, the impact of primary and secondary group memberships on opinions and conduct—all need to be understood if voting behavior is to be understood.

³ J. K. Javits (Rep., New York), "How I Used a Poll in Campaigning for Congress," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 11:222.

⁴ George W. Hartmann, "Judgments of State Legislators Concerning Public Opinion," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 21:111.

⁵ See, for examples of the uses made of survey research techniques by government agencies today, Rensis Likert, "Opinion Studies and Government Policy," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 92:341.

4. The public opinion poll needs to take the personality of the respondent into greater consideration. A conscience-directed, stable, individual opinion must be proved or disproved, not asserted. The venerable classifications of race, sex, and age provide no criteria for the detection of such characteristics as a respondent's powerlessness next week to resist the pattern of change seen in others or his possible overwhelming desire to be "right" with his world. An analysis of legislative behavior today will indicate that the politician does not try to gain votes from people solely on the basis of appeals to one's race, sex, and age. More enlightened analyses of the motivations governing people in their voting choice suggest that there are often no verifiable consistencies within these simple classifications.

Particular attention should be paid to inquiring into below-the-surface characteristics of personality which might be associated with types of responses. If the basic correlates between the interviewee's characteristics and his responses cannot be determined, it is suggested that quota sampling be abandoned for random sampling. For predicting reactions to a legislator's behavior in office, it is better to randomize the undetected biases than to ignore them.

5. The legislator knows, but many pollsters do not, that poll findings possess few prediction values. The time- and space-binding qualities of any interview situation need to be articulated for the legislator. Public opinion polls for legislators should not endeavor to pin down public opinion on a given issue at one moment. Instead, the panel technique requiring repeated interviews with the same respondents⁶ should become commonplace so that understanding may be gained of the changing career patterns of public opinion. Only then can the legislator gain adequate insight into such knotty problems as whether or not the leader of a pressure group actually speaks for his constituents, whether patterns of opinion appear sufficiently strong to remain steadfast—perhaps until election day—and the growing or lessening strength of power alignments who do not merely reflect opinions but who also determine votes.

In summary, my principal observations are these: The social sciences are potentially capable of contributing a great deal to the formation of legislative policy. It is often asserted in this regard that public opinion polling results can unmistakably rather than argumentatively convince the legislator which side of an issue public opinion supports. Actually,

⁶ For an excellent description of the use of this technique, see Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Helen Gaudet, *The People's Choice*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.

however, public opinion polls do not evaluate what the legislator recognizes as public opinion, nor do they report to him what he needs to know about public opinion so that he can satisfy his fundamental concern—the preservation of his political prestige and power.

When public opinion polls (1) refrain from merely counting heads with equal weights, (2) view public opinion as a concept embodying the interaction of everyone's opinion instead of "majority" opinion or "average" opinion, (3) obtain a more adequate psychological and sociological context of the opinion expressed, (4) investigate into the mechanisms of collective expression by which public opinion is expressed to the legislator, and (5) seek to convey to the legislator evidence of the behavior of power alignments and the nature of their influence in the community regarding a particular issue, public opinion polls will be regarded by legislators as adequately portraying how the sources of their support expect them to judge social issues. Thus will public opinion become meaningful in the legislative arena.

LABOR UNDER REVIEW: 1949

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A growing labor force; some increasing unemployment; a slight economic slump, designated by Presidential advisers as a healthy state of disinflation; some big strikes, a clamor for a fourth round of wage increases; noncontributory pensions; a new negotiation formula; some huge profits in the midst of "a healthy recession"; a crisis within the CIO; a few names coming into new prominence; and John L. Lewis still playing the stellar role—all these are engraved upon the industrial labor picture for 1949.

The total labor force: 64,363,000 (November 1949) and increasing at the rate of 1,200,000 a year; unemployment: 3,351,000 (September 1949); work stoppages from labor-management disputes: 3,910 (January-November 1949), involving 3,081,500 workers; a new negotiation formula: the Bethlehem formula, pattern for the steel strike settlement; the huge profits: General Motors' 502.4 millions with biggest cash dividend, 187 millions, in United States economic history and U.S. Steel's 133 millions for the first nine months; crisis within the CIO: final blows of the 11th Convention of CIO to purge itself of all Communists; the names: Representative John Lesinski and Senator Thomas, both with new bills to replace LMRA of 1947, Senator O'Mahoney, Chairman of Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report, Edwin G. Nourse, Chairman of President's Board of Economic Advisers until his resignation in October, and Leon Keyserling, member of the Board and successor to Nourse as Chairman—these are some of the details of the picture.

To add luster to the scene, John L. Lewis and his UMW came forth with some choice bits of verbiage and a few new tactics. Among these were such gauntlet-throwing phrases as "memorial work stoppage," "a brief stabilizing period of inaction," "no welfare—no work," "an act of good faith designed to contribute to the public convenience," "your well-known policy of anxious inertia" (Lewis to Green), "better a union without money than money without a union," "the three-day work week and the no-day work week," and "they can't mine coal with an injunction." Words and phrases of conflict! Somewhat less vivid perhaps were the following: "no contract—no royalty," the coal operator's reply to the UMW; "the real job is not to sell the enterprise

system, but to put some enterprise into selling," Charles Luckman of Lever Brothers before some top Los Angeles businessmen; "management-financed social security has become an accepted part of American thinking," President's Steel Industry Fact-Finding Board; and "Truman has repealed collective bargaining," Inland Steel Company President C. B. Randall. Words and phrases of challenge!

Despite the outcome of the 1948 elections, the Taft-Hartley Law (LMRA of 1947), union-designated wicked and damnable piece of legislation, was still the labor law of the land on December 31, 1949. Presidential hatred of the law inspired the anti-Fair Deal-and-Welfare State press to attempt to dare and drive the President into using Taft-Hartley's injunction powers to bring John L. and his striking coal miners to bay, but the President refused to visualize anything like a national emergency. Looking the press in the face, he stated that he had no power to seize the mines and wanted none.

At any rate, John L. Lewis was having the fight of his life for the better part of the year. In January he had announced that his royalty fund had paid out some 68 millions of dollars to 11,689 miners who were pensioned off at \$100 a month. In August Miss Josephine Roche, former coal mine operator and now Fund Director for the miners, declared that, while the fund had taken in over 90 million dollars, it had spent 14 millions more to "attack the backlog of human misery rolled up through the decades." Hence, Lewis' determination to get a 35¢-a-ton royalty payment instead of the 20¢-a-ton as in force under the old expired contract. All this led to the devising of tactics for winning the new contract from the mine owners. Reasoned Lewis, the coal stock piles must be reduced. First came the 2-week memorial holiday in March, then in June the 1-week stabilizing period of inaction, followed by the 3-day work week in July, soon to be denounced by the operators as an unfair labor practice. In September Lewis ordered the payments from the Welfare Fund stopped, and the miners began to leave the pits. In October many of the miners were ordered to return to work, and still more in November. November 30 was set as the final day for work, however. Meanwhile, Federal Mediator Ching and Lewis were trying to reach some agreement but to no avail and many miners were still out at the end of the year. To add to their troubles, the UMW finally had to pay the 1948 fine of \$1,420,000 imposed by a Federal court. King Coal thus held first place among the labor news items for 1949.

Other important events for 1949: the Ford strike against the "speed-up"; the Steel strike, broken after more than two months by the capitulation of the Bethlehem Steel Company to the President's Fact-Finding Board's recommendations, the settlement becoming known as the "Bethlehem Formula"; the losing fight of the Truman Administration for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and the triumph of Senator Taft; the raising of the minimum wage from 40¢ to 75¢ an hour (Fair Labor Standards Act amendment); the U.S. Supreme Court's decision upholding the Nebraska and North Carolina laws banning the closed shop and the same court's refusal to review a decision by a lower court which held that the LMRA of 1947 compelled employers to bargain with unions on retirement and pension plans; and the acceptance by some big unions of noncontributory pension plans in lieu of a fourth round of wage increases. United States Steel in an advertisement during the strike had printed in the newspapers the following: "There is grave doubt as to the financial ability of American industry alone to pay the cost of adequate insurance and pension programs for employees. Furthermore, is it not in the best interests of the employee that he participate in the creation of a savings account for his future welfare?" To which the Fact-Finding Board replied: "... our human resources are the most precious and useful, and should be most carefully hoarded and protected. These human machines need the same kind of treatment for depreciation and disability that the other machines are getting."

Following are the labor events for the year chronologically placed. They have been compiled, as in the past articles under this title, from press dispatches, the news weeklies, magazine articles, news broadcasting, Department of Labor's *Monthly Labor Review*, official newspapers, bulletins, and pamphlets of the AFL and CIO.

JANUARY

Reports for 1948's economics indicate: average wage per week rose about 6 per cent to \$54.65, net profits of business estimated about 21 billions compared to 1947's 17.4 billions, productivity increased 7½ per cent.

Truman's desire for repeal of Taft-Hartley Law not to be consummated.

Employment, high peak in July 1948 with 61,600,000 working, shows signs of diminishing.

Truman in his State of Union message asks Congress to find out about existing steel capacity and threatens to put the government in steel industry if privately owned companies fail to provide enough. This puts a "scare" into businessmen.

Reuther's UAW about to concentrate on \$100-a-month pensions. National Foremen's Institute claims that only 3 per cent of 428 pacts provide for pension plans.

Supreme Court upholds Nebraska and North Carolina laws banning closed shop.

CIO withdraws from World Federation of Trades Unions because of Communist domination.

FEBRUARY

CIO begins its Communist purge for the year by ordering the Farm Equipment Workers to merge with the UAW.

Unemployment estimated at 3 million.

Sears, Roebuck states that 96,000 of its employees own 19 per cent of stock purchased through profit-sharing plan set up in 1916.

U.S. Chamber of Commerce warns businessmen to block any fourth round of wage increases.

Independent Communication Workers of America's executive board calls for a vote on entrance to the CIO.

NLRB holds that General Motors' introduction of a group insurance plan without consulting the bargaining representatives constitutes a refusal to bargain collectively.

Unemployment set at 3,221,000.

MARCH

Ford notifies UAW that, what with food prices sagging and unemployment increasing, the new contract negotiations in May or June will have to include a cut in wages and that a \$100-a-month pension would cause the price of Ford cars to go up to a figure that might price them out of the market.

Emil Mazey says Ford workers will get their pension or Ford cars will go out of existence after July 16. UAW starts collecting a million-dollar war chest.

Eleven thousand CIO shoe workers decide not to ask for a raise.

Lewis calls out 400,000 Eastern miners for a 2-week Memorial Day holiday. Mine workers' contract expires June 30.

Repeal of Taft-Hartley Law now thought impossible.

Nonoperating railroad workers unions accept a Presidential Fact-Finding Board's ruling—40-hour week with 7¢-an-hour boost.

U.S. Supreme Court holds that the states may impose stricter regulation on union security than that of the Federal Government.

Senate confirms nomination of Michael J. Galvin as Under-Secretary of Labor, succeeding David A. Morse. Confirms Louis A. Johnson as Secretary for Defense.

APRIL

Rumored that J. L. Lewis was purchasing the National Bank of Washington. Rep. John Lesinki's bill in the House for a new labor act. copes with one by Rep. John S. Wood.

"Welfare State" beginning to be publicized satirically.

First quarterly earnings of business prove to be higher than those of same period in 1948; General Electric's net announced at 26.7 millions, up 1.3 million; General Motors, 1.2 billion in sales, greatest in history.

Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that a 5-month downward trend in prices had halted in March—still 72 per cent higher than August 1939 level.

Truman appoints William H. Davis as head of a labor relations panel for atomic energy programs.

NLRB rules that one man leaving his job at the order of a labor organization does not constitute a strike under LMRA—first ruling on such a case.

U.S. Supreme Court refuses to review a decision of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago which had held that the LMRA compels employers to bargain with unions on retirement and pension funds.

MAY

Unemployment figures announced as 3,289,000 (May 1948 figures—1,761,000) but 58,694,000 persons working (58,600,000 in May 1948).

62,000 UAW workers on strike at Ford's River Rouge and Lincoln plants—"speed-up" charged. First mass walkout since 1941. Both sides agree to negotiate, and accept a three-man board investigation of the charge.

Drive for fourth round of wage increases halted by growing industrial unemployment and falling prices. Labor begins to agitate for security provisions. U.S. Steelworkers (CIO) want (1) social insurance program, (2) pensions, (3) guaranteed weekly minimum wage. UAW wants (1) employer-financed pensions, (2) employer-financed medical, hospital disability, and life insurance plans, (3) wage hikes.

Harry Bridges indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in San Francisco on charges of perjury in his oath-taking citizenship application in 1945.

Victor Reuther, brother of UAW's Walter, shot but not seriously injured.

CIO withdraws from membership in Communist-dominated World Federation of Trades Unions. Executive Council of AFL approves joint participation with CIO in forming a new World Labor body.

U.S. Supreme Court upholds NLRB decision that the employer engages in an unfair labor practice when he raises wages without consulting the accredited bargaining representative.

Communication Workers of America vote to affiliate with the CIO.

American Federation of Hosiery Workers, suspended by the CIO, vote to return to the AFL. CIO orders eleven unions to replace their Communist-inclined leaders with those who favor CIO policies.

JUNE

J. L. Lewis before Senate Labor subcommittee testifies in favor of bill to empower Federal mine inspectors to close unsafe mines and tells of 1,259,081 miners who have been maimed, mangled, and killed in 19 years. Announces that for the week beginning on June 13 the miners would leave the pits for one week, a "stabilizing period of inaction." Stockpile of 65,164,000 tons needs to be reduced, since many miners are already idle. Tactic supposed to give better bargaining strength to Lewis. U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upholds contempt of court fine against UMW and orders payment of the \$1,420,000 fine. Lewis begins talks with "Big Steel."

Senator Thomas tries to get the Senate to restore the old Wagner Act or to pass his bill with or without some amendments proposed by Senator Taft.

Cyrus S. Ching, Federal Mediator, tells business executives that "labor is always better prepared with facts and figures than management." Some salaries of executives announced—American Tobacco Company, \$484,202; Bethlehem Steel, \$293,279; Colgate's \$350,000, etc.

U.S. Department of Labor reports unemployment increase for eighth consecutive month, while Leon Keyserling of Economic Council assails the "do-nothing attitude" toward the economic slump. Nation's labor force increasing at rate of 1,200,000 workers per year. Bureau of Labor Statistics says average factory worker's wages rose from \$52.86 in May to \$53.86.

For the first time NLRB requests a court order to enforce decision forbidding National Maritime Union to favor unionites through hiring-hall methods.

Thirty-second International Labor Conference held in Geneva.

NLRB rules that picketing at a struck plant in support of a lawful strike is legal, even though it may have the effect of an illegal secondary boycott.

Hawaii paralyzed by strike of Bridges' International Shoremen & Warehousemen's CIO union. Bridges claims that business interests are out to eliminate organized labor from the island.

Senator O'Mahoney announces that his Joint Committee on the Economic Report would soon launch an investigation of the unemployment increase.

JULY

Senator Thomas' Administration Labor bill emasculated by Taft in Senate passes 50-40. Called Taft's greatest triumph. The bill repealed one Taft-Hartley law and passed another.

J. L. Lewis puts the East's bituminous mines on a 3-day work week to spread employment and prevent overproduction.

Seventy-one-day walkout at Bendix Aviation Corporation ended by Air Secretary Symington in conference with UAW's Reuther and Bendix President Ferguson. Bendix agreed to withdraw a 2-million-dollar suit against the union, rehire 43 out of 47 wildcat strikers; union agreed to withdraw charges of unfair labor practice and to negotiate a new contract.

Truman optimistic in his mid-year report to Congress and states that he opposes the Murray 15-billion-dollar Economic Expansion Bill. Wants the minimum wage placed at 75¢ an hour.

Steel strike averted when U.S. Steel's Fairless agrees to allow a Presidential Fact-Finding Board to conduct inquiries. Fairless had rejected Philip Murray's demands for higher wages, greater social insurance benefits, and \$100-a-month pensions. Strike called off 10 hours before union deadline, July 15. The Board members: Judge Rosenman, David L. Cole, and Professor Carroll Daugherty. Sixty-day cooling-off period granted.

New sit-down technique at Crown Central Petroleum of Houston; workers take up company time by writing grievances. Plant closed down by executives of Corporation.

UAW Convention in Milwaukee votes a 10-million-dollar war chest to win over Ford.

U.S. Court of Appeals orders enforcement of NLRB order against National Maritime Union banning hiring-hall methods.

U.S. Department of Labor's program for improving labor standards of working youth transferred from Wages and Hours Division to Bureau of Labor Standards.

United States Steelworkers of America (CIO) executive board agrees to sign non-Communist affidavits.

UAW's Reuther tells that General Motors' President C. E. Wilson gets a \$516,000-a-year salary and bonus, or \$258 an hour, and will get a \$25,000-a-year pension and says that, if the company can afford to pay pensions to those who do not need them, they are going to pay them to the boys in the shop who really need pensions.

AUGUST

U.S. Fact-Finding Board opens its inquiry into Steel. Facts disclosed: Steel profits up 76 per cent above 1948's first half. Inland Steel President Randall says Truman has repealed collective bargaining. "Big Steel" Chairman Olds says a wage increase would be bad for the whole economy. Under the Walsh-Healey Act, Secretary of Labor Tobin boosts minimum rates in steel from 62½¢ an hour to \$1.23 in North and from 45¢ an hour to \$1.08½ in the South. Walsh-Healey Act refers to public work contracts. Administration thus inaugurates a fourth round of wage increases.

Josephine Roche, Director of Welfare Fund for the miners, reports that, while the fund has taken in over 90 millions, it has had to spend 14 millions more than that. Senate gasps when it hears that Senator Bridges of New Hampshire and Ezra Van Horn for the operators get \$35,000 a year as trustees for the fund. Lewis, the other trustee, takes no fees but gets \$50,000 a year from the UMW and added expenses.

House passes the 75¢ minimum wage but takes one million workers out of the law by using the word *indispensable* instead of *necessary* in an amendment. (Fair Labor Standards Act)

Ford workers vote to strike. Forty-hour work week for nonoperating personnel of railroads to go into effect September 1.

Total employment placed at 59,947,000. Unemployment decreases from 4,095,000 to 3,689,000. After prodding by Dubinsky of ILGWU, Green of AFL announces that he will send five delegates to London in the fall to aid in establishing a new world federation of labor.

U.S. Senate authorizes the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to make a thorough study of the entire field of labor-management relations and to submit entire report not later than December 31, 1950. Bureau of Employment Security transferred from Federal Security Agency to Department of Labor.

SEPTEMBER

Senate votes to increase minimum wage to 75¢ an hour.

Steel Fact-Finding Committee's report sent to the President. Rejects wage increase asked for but recommends a 10¢-an-hour levy for each worker to cover pensions and insurance. Report stated, "Human machines that are laid up have to continue to eat and pay rent." Committee also told both parties that they should turn to collective bargaining instead of running to the government. Unions accept the report and vote to postpone the scheduled strike until September 25 to give the

President a chance to study the report. Fairless of U.S. Steel says the company has no intention of swallowing the report whole and believes that the workers should bear part of the cost of pensions and insurance.

J. L. Lewis announces that payments from the Welfare Fund will be stopped because of the low funds in it. Miners begin to leave the pits stating: "No welfare—no work." The Southern operators had stopped royalty payments because of lack of new contract, retorting in kind: "No contract—no royalty payments."

Big railway strike on for the Missouri Pacific.

Reuther tells Ford that September 29 is deadline set for strike; Ford announces it will proceed with discussions on the basis of the Steel report to Truman.

Lewis says that President G. H. Love of the Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal Co. was not satisfied with the 3-day week, so until he changes his attitude he will have the no-day work week. UMWA orders bituminous miners west of Mississippi to return to work on October 3.

National Maritime Union (CIO) votes to bar all "Commies," Nazis, and Fascists from membership.

OCTOBER

After a 77-day cooling-off period, first industry-wide steel strike since 1946 occurs. Fairless offers 10-cent welfare contribution but holds that workers must contribute something. Murray refuses by stating the workers will not contribute one red cent, and demands wage increase once more. Truman refuses to invoke Taft-Hartley Law. Majority of pension plans now in vogue are noncontributory. Steel company says "Something-for-nothing" principle would ruin industry.

Ford signs a 2½-year contract with Reuther; 112,000 workers will be enabled to retire at 65 after 30 years service on \$100 a month. Ford will foot bill, but pension excludes social security payroll deductions.

Lewis orders 10,200 miners back to work in northeast Pennsylvania.

Psychological Corporation of New York finds that 58 per cent of small businessmen interviewed claimed that their "Number 1 headache" was government; 20 per cent, unions; and 20 per cent, big business.

Sixteen thousand aluminum workers go out on strike in sympathy with steelworkers.

U.S. Supreme Court orders the Jergens Company (cosmetics) to bargain with the Teamsters' Union, even though the union may no longer represent the employees. Jergens had granted a 15 per cent wage

increase at the time of an August strike. The employees had affiliated with the Teamsters and when the wage increase was granted had quit the union.

Lewis puts his demands up to mine owners. Wants royalty to be increased from 20¢ to 35¢ a ton for coal mined. Suggests to William Green that nine of the AFL unions contribute \$250,000 a week to support the Steelworkers' strike. When Green refuses, Lewis writes to him: "You have justified my judgment—I did not think you would do anything. You didn't. You rarely do. Unfortunately, you follow your well-known policy of anxious inertia. . ." One million coal and steel workers idle. Truman in sixth week of coal strike still refuses to invoke Taft-Hartley measures despite the "heckling" of the press.

Missouri Pacific strike ends after 45 days, with workers agreeing to a proposition submitted by the road before the strike.

CIO in 11th annual Convention at Cleveland warns left-wing members to stop acting like Communists or get out. Biggest crisis for CIO since Lewis left. Sixty-eighth annual Convention of AFL held at St. Paul.

Truman approves the 75¢ minimum wage amendment.

Dr. Edwin G. Nourse resigns as head of the President's Board of Economic Advisers.

NOVEMBER

Announcement that Bethlehem Steel Company (second greatest steel producer) had signed a contract with Murray's CIO on October 31. Union abandoned wage increase for \$100-a-month pensions of the non-contributory type (company had been providing free pensions of \$50 a month at 65 after 25 years of service). Murray agreed to have workers pay one half the cost of a new 5¢-an-hour insurance and hospitalization plan. This plan now becomes known as the "Bethlehem Formula."

Mediator Ching and Lewis meet in Washington in an attempt to settle the 7-week-old coal strike.

U.S. Supreme Court upholds the Presidential right to issue injunctions by refusing to review the appeal of the UMW on its \$1,420,000 fine in 1948. Union pays the fine.

CIO expels the United Electric, Radio, and Machine Workers' union and charts a new union to take its place. UE delegates had walked out of the Convention at Cleveland after a lengthy fight over communism. The Farm Equipment Workers Union had joined the UE despite a CIO executive order to join with the UAW.

United States Steel Company capitulates and accepts the "Bethlehem Formula." Ching hands the coal dispute to Truman.

Truman's Fair Deal wins most of the November elections.

UMW calls off the 7-week strike for 3 weeks or until November 30. Lewis calls it "an act of good faith to contribute to the public convenience." At the same time, he assails the mine owners for their sordid and mercenary attitude and their attempts to brutalize the American miner.

American Telephone and Telegraph Company (nation's largest private employer) extends its noncontributory pension plan to 600,000 workers.

Old-age and survivors' insurance taxes on employers and employees increased by law from 1 to 1.5 per cent.

When UMW pays the enormous fine, miners' comment: "Better a union without money than money without a union."

Eastman Kodak gives a wage "dividend" of $15\frac{1}{2}$ millions to its 48,000 employees—biggest in the 38-year-old profit-sharing plan. (Workers who earned an average of \$100 a week for five years got \$650.) General Motors' profit of 502.4 millions for the first 9 months of the year—G.M. voted to pay the biggest cash dividend in U.S. history, 187 millions.

Sixteenth National Conference on Labor Legislation held in Washington, D.C. (See Bulletin No. 117, U.S. Dept. of Labor.)

DECEMBER

Council of Profit-sharing Industries holds its first annual meeting in New York. Represented were 155 companies with 240,000 employees. Report: Profit-sharing makes (1) better labor relations, (2) better productivity, (3) higher profits.

U.S. Steel puts steel up \$4 a ton as a result of the noncontributory pension plan. (Steel wages between 1941 and 1949 raised five times, amounting to a rise of 72 per cent—steel prices in the same period raised 61 per cent.) Senator O'Mahoney calls it unjustifiable and asks Fairless to appear before his Senate Committee to explain. Steel profits for first 9 months up 50 per cent over same period in 1948.

U.S. Supreme Court holds that violence in picketing is illegal.

CIO announces for the first time its net worth to be \$1,480,313.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and Clothing Manufacturing Association agree on a \$20-a-month pension increase, making \$100-a-month pensions for those over 65.

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions formed in London.

Three-day work week in mines officially approved by UMW's Policy Committee, effective December 5. Small mine owners (2 per cent of nation's mines) settle with Lewis, wage raise of 95¢ a day and 35¢-a-ton royalty payment.

RETROSPECT

The first of this series of articles appeared in 1940. After a 10-year period, it may be permissible to recapture what now appear to have been the most significant labor events from 1940 through 1949. Certainly, the principal background is formed by the advent of "big" unionism, a phenomenon promoted and protected by New Deal nourishment and aided by the events of World War II. Emerging from this background and illuminating the foreground is the advent of the "human welfare state," so-called by Justice Douglas and described by him as the "great political invention of the twentieth century." Labor, he told the CIO 1948 Convention, has been its prime promoter. Singled out, then, are these events:

- 1940 A growing public opinion in favor of more governmental regulation of unionism (culminated in passage of MRA of 1947).
- 1941 Constitutionality of the Fair Labor Standards Act upheld. Beginning of a long line of governmental seizures of struck war defense plants.
- 1942 Much closed-shop opposition on the part of employers. "Little Steel Formula" becomes the accepted pattern for determining wage hikes despite union opposition.
- 1943 Smith-Connally Act passed over a Presidential veto, making it a criminal act to incite a strike on government-owned property. Furnished the idea that workers cannot strike against the people.
CIO enters politics by forming its Political Action Committee. Policy departed from long-time Gompers' idea that unionism must spend itself upon economic action alone.
- 1944 Labor's great friend, Roosevelt, elected for fourth term. Causes conflict situation between big business and big unionism to sharpen.
- 1945 Death of F. D. R. and end of World War II with atomic energy emerging and the beginning of a "cold war" with Moscow. Unionism and communism linked by enemies of "big" unionism.

Fight begins over Fair Employment Practices bill wanted by new President, Truman.

- 1946 Employment Act of 1946 passed, setting up a Council of three economic advisers to the President.

John L. Lewis finds that he cannot defy the government without cost. Succeeds in making for a growing antagonism to certain union practices.

- 1947 Taft-Hartley Act (LMRA of 1947) becomes the labor law of the land and organized labor vows to engage in political reprisals.

- 1948 Truman elected after promising to work for repeal of Taft-Hartley Act.

Beginning of unionism's fight to get pension and welfare benefits along noncontributory lines.

- 1949 Failure of Truman Administration to get rid of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The Story of John L. Lewis.

Adoption of the "Bethlehem Formula" with noncontributory pensions as the new pattern for industrial peace. Minimum wage up to 75¢ an hour.

BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS OF VETERANS WITH REFERENCE TO UNEMPLOYMENT*

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The years just following World War II saw the rise of a paradoxical situation: veteran unemployment¹ in the midst of job plenty. This unusual combination urged a study to determine (1) why veterans were unemployed when jobs were plentiful and (2) their reactions toward this unemployment.

Data which reflected on these questions were obtained by four months of participant observation and, in a larger measure, by analysis of the case histories of a representative sample. Before obtaining the sample, eligibility requirements and a definition of unemployment had to be arrived at. Established concepts of unemployment were not completely applicable to the veteran who was jobless when, by his own admission, work was available. An unemployed person in this study is defined as any individual who is mentally, physically, and legally capable of working; who wants work, but is unable to find work that meets what he believes to be his minimum standards of compensation and type of employment.

Further limitations were added in order to eliminate individuals whose special problems would only cloud the findings of the investigation. These people—the female veteran, the Negro and other non-Caucasians, the disabled and the unemployables—were considered ineligible for this study, as were ex-servicemen carrying a full school program.

To assure representative geographical distribution and to make surveying more tractable, the Fifth Election District of every Assembly District of a selected portion of New York City was chosen as the area to be surveyed. The sample then consists of employable veterans from these areas who are white, male, and unemployed for a minimum

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¹ Proportionally there were three times as many veterans as civilians unemployed. "Readjustment of Veterans to Civilian Life," *Monthly Labor Review*, LXIII No. 5 (Washington, D.C., November 1946), pp. 712-14.

of three months.² Every dwelling in these districts was approached and the eligible veterans interviewed.

The 100 unemployed veterans who were intensively interviewed between August 1946 and February 1947 make up the sample. These veterans, while not demonstrably representative of all unemployed ex-servicemen, seem sufficiently typical to warrant extending the findings of this study to veterans living in New York City or comparable urban areas. In fact, though no claim is made for broader representativeness, these veterans fit the *Monthly Labor Review's* description of unemployed ex-servicemen in the United States: "In general, the unemployed veteran was distinguished from employed ex-servicemen in that he was younger, unmarried and had relatively little schooling and limited service experience."³

Pattern delineation. The initial observations indicated, and the complex character of the problem suggested, that no single explanation would account for the joblessness of the veterans constituting the sample. Rather, explanations had to be found in the types of unemployed ex-servicemen whose background, behavior, and attitudes fell into distinctive homogeneous patterns. It is in the delineation, analysis, and implications of these veteran types that this study finds its central structure. This paper, then, is an attempt to describe and classify veteran unemployment in New York City.

Preliminary analysis pointed to five major variables which helped differentiate these veteran types. To clearly define these types it was necessary to create or use existing indices to measure the following variables: Job-Seeking Intensity (JSI), Socio-Economic Status (SES), Occupational Preference (OP), Age, and an individual's Hanging-Out proclivity.

These factors were cross-tabulated in all possible ways:⁴ i.e.,

1. Between JSI and Age
2. Between JSI and Occupational Preference
3. Between JSI, Hanging Out, and Age
4. Between Age and Occupational Preference

² The Veterans Administration estimated that approximately four fifths of the veterans took jobs within three months of discharge. "Jobs and School Activities of Veterans," *Veterans Administration, Research Service, Office of Coordination and Planning* (Washington, D.C., January 31, 1946), p. 1.

³ *Monthly Labor Review*, loc. cit., p. 714.

⁴ For more detailed description of methods used in pattern delineation, see the writer's "El complejo de clasificación" in a forthcoming issue of *Revista mexicana de sociología*.

5. Between SES and Hanging Out
6. Between SES, JSI, and Age
7. Between SES and JSI
8. Between SES and Occupational Preference
9. Between Occupational Preference and Hanging Out

All the tabulations listed above indicated relationships between the variables involved. For example, it was found that:

1. Older veterans (over 25) were more seriously occupied with finding work than were younger ex-servicemen.
2. Regardless of age, those men who knew the kind of work they preferred looked for that work more assiduously than did those who were uncertain about their job preferences.
3. The older men knew more definitely than did the younger the type of work they preferred.
4. Younger veterans spent more time hanging out at the candy store, bar, or pool room than did older veterans.
5. There is a difference in the quality and quantity of hanging out for different SES classifications.
6. There is a difference in JSI for the different SES classifications.
7. The higher the SES, the more defined the veteran's OP.

It was the combination, then, of detailed study of the case histories, participant observation, and the cross-tabulations that resulted in the classification of these veterans into patterns of meaningful correlations, i.e., into unemployed veteran types.

For instance, in one veteran classification, correlations were found between Age, Hanging Out, and JSI. It was soon discovered that many of these young men who did not look for work and were hangouters also had no defined OP, and that most came from poor socioeconomic backgrounds. This veteran type, then, is composed of unemployed ex-servicemen who are young and single, have low SES, hang out, and do not seriously look for work. The Candy Store Pattern is the name given to the men making up this cluster, since all spent a major portion of their time loafing at the candy store or its equivalent.

Similarly, three other veteran types were delineated: the Time, Promise, and Young and Ambitious patterns. These patterns⁵ include all but 14 per cent of the sample; this last group includes individuals whose

⁵ Though these veteran types—and it is not claimed that the typology has been exhausted—are composed of factors common to more than one category, each of these four patterns has certain major characteristics which are absent in the other patterns.

causes of unemployment, though not completely dissimilar, are so singular as to make the case of each man⁶ an order unto itself.

The Candy Store Pattern. The 26 per cent of the sample who fall into the Candy Store Pattern are a homogeneous grouping based on three principal traits—JSI (they do not strenuously look for work), Hanging Out (all hang out), and Occupational Preference (they don't know the kind of jobs they want). These men are also young, single, have low SES and the poor job contacts and education which usually accompany it. Their attainments were very limited. Half had prewar work experience, but the jobs held were laboring or minor clerical. In the service, due in part to this background, the Candy Store veterans continued to hold the poor jobs and ratings.

Discharged, civilians again, deprived of the paternalistic protection of the forces, these men, more than any other group of the unemployed, are unwilling and unable to face the facts of a strange new economic life. Most of the men who had held preinduction jobs preferred not to return to them, though they wanted work and looked for work. A little over half took postwar jobs, but soon found them unsatisfactory and quit to vacation or look for the interesting and well-paying positions which they believed were promised and due them. Completely ignored were the serious obstacles of limited education and experience.

All of them took long vacations, either prior to their initial search for work or immediately following their first unsatisfactory job. Then, as the novelty of the vacation began to pall, or as self-pressures or family and neighborhood pressures to look for and accept work took effect, the veteran was urged to a job-seeking campaign. He looked earnestly, but soon discovered that work could not be found which suited his inflated estimate of his worth and ability in terms of the actual job market. He checked with other unemployed veterans and discovered their difficulties similar. In this confirmation he found reinforcement and encouragement to ease his own search. At the same time he discovered that the candy store, hangout of other unemployed veterans, was more congenial than his home atmosphere, where "get a job" pressure increased in proportion to the length of time unemployed. In the candy store he made friends and established his place.

The hangout, which in most cases is the candy store, becomes the hearth of a primary group, and small in-groups of jobless veterans form. Here they receive protection from the competition and criticism

⁶ These men must be treated individually and are therefore not dealt with here.

of the employed. Here the unemployed set themselves off; here it is the others who are outside the pale. By this process of selective association the veteran has partially succeeded in insulating himself from the pressing world and diffuses the pressures to "get a job," pressures which might conceivably force job taking were they not so diluted by this new in-group's status-determining scale. He need no longer fully accept the out-group's standards as his own. Recognizing this, the veteran removes one great barrier toward acceptance of his unemployed state, and his "need" for a job diminishes.

The candy store also functions as a pseudo employment center—job information is traded; but, since each job mentioned has been rejected by one veteran, his friend, who would lose status by accepting it, also rejects it. Other job suggestions, offered by working patrons of the candy store, are usually rejected, for they do not meet the veteran's idealized requirements. This information has value to the ex-serviceman in that it can be tendered that night as the day's peace offering to the family. It further serves to justify his inertia by this impression of job hunting.

The final step in the degeneration of his work-finding efforts is now at hand. When he entered the service, the young soldier compensated for the familiar environment of family and home with the creation of a new protective figure.⁷ Out of the service, he still feels the need of someone or something who will protect him, who will find him a job. In most cases this "father figure" is again the government, this time in the shape of the United States Employment Service (USES).⁸ He already has been dependent on the government through the Readjustment Allowance,⁹ but now he needs greater support. The veteran is at this point conditioned to a justification of the feeling that his protecting symbol must produce. The problem has passed out of his hands. He gives up looking for a job almost entirely and seems to enjoy his extended vacation.

⁷ Willard Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1944), p. 119.

⁸ Now the New York State Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance.

⁹ The government subsidy of a maximum of \$20 a week for 52 weeks, paid to unemployed veterans who meet eligibility requirements. The importance of the Readjustment Allowance will be reported on in a future article by Henry J. Meyer and Erwin O. Smigel.

For many, the \$20-a-week R.A. (which is but little less than salaries offered them), implying government sanction for their unemployment, helps make this adjustment a satisfactory substitution for the job seeking that always ends in failure. Because of the availability of the weekly allowance, many men do not expect to take jobs before their subsidy ends. This may mean that for an occupationally formative year they will deny themselves the chance to acquire valuable trial-and-error work experiences. It is probable¹⁰ that some will become unemployables, marginal workers, a serious problem to the community. Some very few, under the influence of increasing public and monetary pressures will eventually progress into the Young and Ambitious Pattern.

The Time Pattern. Antithesis of the Candy Store Pattern, this veteran type is based largely on two primary characteristics, well-defined Occupational Preference and high JSI. It comprises 34 per cent of the sample and is made up of men who may be expected to find jobs. Locating these jobs—the “right” jobs—is merely a matter of time. Two secondary characteristics, Age and SES, strengthen the homogeneity of the cluster. That these men are older (over 25) is significant for the understanding of the JSI and OP ratings. Age implies experience; all members of this pattern had worked, previous to induction, for a sufficient length of time to have developed strong job preferences. Their work background is better than that of the other veterans, better in type of work and in salary earned. This prewar work superiority can be partially explained by their age and superior education. Similarly, their service achievements were greater, their noncommissioned officers’ ratings were higher, and their service jobs more desirable.

Understanding of this pattern cannot be found solely in the work backgrounds of these men. Their inability to “successfully” adjust to unemployment, to escape to a hangout, and to find even momentary refuge in that escape cannot be explained merely on the grounds of substantial preinduction work experience. Neither can Age nor SES alone explain what urges these men to reach persistently for one job goal. It is rather the sum of their backgrounds and adjustments, the collective manifestations of Age, SES, education, work and service experience that have clustered these men in a single pattern. This is a grouping of individuals who would not be detoured for any length of time from their drive toward their job goal. Here there is not the resignation or lethargy which prompts the easy adjustment to unemploy-

¹⁰ Approximately 20 per cent of the sample was revisited, and these support the predictions offered for each veteran type.

ment of the Candy Store Pattern. Rather, it can be said that they veer to the opposite pole, for almost every factor that operates negatively for the Candy Store Pattern operates positively for the Time Pattern. Even the R.A., which simplifies the adjustment to unemployment for the Candy Store Pattern, is a factor of prime importance encouraging Time Pattern men to continue their search for their particular jobs. It raises their hope and morale; it gives them sufficient time to feel unrushed in their search for work; it enables them to hold out for the particular job they want.

The Time Pattern men are so anxious for work, and work so hard at finding it, that it is almost incongruous to label them unemployed. They had taken postwar positions and had left them because of the vast divergence between what they wanted and what their jobs had been. They are afraid to take and stay at just any job for fear they will be "stuck" with it, and, like their fathers before them, will "wind up" behind a counter or as a shipping clerk for some small firm. No, these men want jobs which for them are the "right" jobs—be it watch-making, diesel mechanics, or radio crooning. These veterans are searching for the work they expect to do for life. They look unstintingly and competently, sublimating most social needs to the primary need of a good position. Their looking will continue until their jobs are found. Or, if time proves their goals unattainable, they will modify the goals and accept positions in the nearest related field. In either case they will eventually take jobs. It's just a matter of time.

The Promise Pattern. This pattern, 14 per cent of the sample, is composed of young, single men with a high SES, negligible job histories, and at least a high school education. They also have in common the bona fide offer of a good job and low Job-Seeking Intensity. These men followed their discharge by taking a long vacation. Eventually they reach the decision to look for work, and then find awaiting them a bona fide, dependable offer of a job, usually from a close relative or his business connections.

Safe in the security of home support, the R.A., and the promised job, these men decide they can do better vocationally either in interest, pay, or future than their promised job. Though the usual pressures to get a job are slight, they begin feebly to hunt for work on their own. Half accept job offers but leave within two months. Then, as the months of unemployment wear on, they recognize that they are not earnestly looking for or finding the positions they think they want. The realiza-

tion of the difficulty of reaching their aims and the understanding of the advantages of the offered positions combine with the growing though slight pressure from working friends and well-meaning relatives. At the same time they weary of their idleness and slowly begin publicly to verbalize the possibility of accepting these offers. Most finally decide to accept the promised position. Even if they should procrastinate too long and the promised job disappear, these men are still in the favored position of having sufficient contact for continued job opportunity.

The Young and Ambitious Pattern. The men of the Young and Ambitious Pattern, 12 per cent of the sample, are grouped together because all look earnestly and intensely for work, have undefined occupational preferences, hang out, are young (average age is 22) and single. In addition, their SES is relatively low, which implies poor job contacts. They do not know what they want occupationally and in general present a picture of anxious, ambitious young men who, in not knowing their job goals, find them elusive and unattainable. Many left school to go to work and so increased the difficulty of their task. The jobs they then took paid well for their training and experience, but are jobs to which, as veterans, they are unwilling to return. Added to this is the present limited value of their service experiences. Except that their aims are higher, these men are in much the same position they were in before induction—they still have little job experience and still do not know the kind of work they want.

These veterans are subject to the usual get-a-job pressures. Their parents insist that they work; their working neighbors gossip about their unemployment. Relative scarcity of money provides further incentive to settle down at a job. However, monetary pressures are modified by parentally supplied room and board and the R.A. Other pressures are parried with their own belief that they are correct in persistently hunting a job and refusing to remain at one they do not like.

Though most of these pressures are parried, their desire for work remains earnest and sincere. After discharge or after a short vacation they immediately began their search. Most found and took jobs. Dissatisfied with these positions, however, they left them and renewed their searching. Not knowing what they were looking for and feeling their way toward that knowledge, these veterans tried one job after another. Eventually the combination of job hunting and job experimentation should lead to the decision on the kind of job that will become their occupational choice. At that future time these men will have as-

sumed the major characteristics of the Time Pattern. Some few may revert to the Candy Store Pattern. The majority, however, will continue looking until they find their "right" job. Or, failing, will modify their desires and accept a lesser position similar to their first serious choice.

Conclusion. During 1946 and 1947, 100 employable unemployed white male veterans were interviewed in selected areas of New York City. Their case histories were examined to determine their reaction to unemployment and the reason for their joblessness in times of job plenty. It was discovered that this joblessness was tied to the background, attitudes, and behavior of these men. And finding marked differences among them, four veteran personality types were delineated. Different answers were found for the unemployment of each of these types.

This study indicates that unemployment must be viewed not only in terms of technological changes, seasonal fluctuations, or business cycles but also in terms of unemployed types. It is quite possible, however, that further investigations might clearly reveal that the personality types and patterns of unemployment observed here also exist for the jobless nonveteran. And on the basis of these present findings, it might well be said, equally for the sociologist, the administrator, and the policy maker, that planning for further study, treatment, or the enactment of additional laws should be first examined in light of unemployed types.

JOHN M. GILLETTE: PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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This bibliography is supplementary to the article "The Sociology of John Morris Gillette," which was published in the March-April issue of *Sociology and Social Research*. It will help to support the statements in the foregoing article and will assist graduate students who wish to make use of Dr. Gillette's contributions to the rural and other aspects of sociology.

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BASES OF WORLD PEACE

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The maintenance of peace in the world depends in no small measure upon human relations, and the science of human behavior is very backward compared with the physical sciences.¹ Before man-to-man relations can be markedly improved, the economy of the nation and of the world must be stabilized. Serious depressions must be prevented, the upward trend of productivity, interrupted by world wars, must be continued, and an end must be put to mass unemployment. Communism and war, today's chief menaces, are easily cultivated in an economy of instability and poverty. Comforts and gadgets are not all there is to good living, but such things should not be scorned. As national and world production is increased, as standards of living rise, as the working period is shortened, more and more stress may be placed upon the arts of living. Before the world can go far along this attractive road, war and the danger of war must be ended.²

In a time of rapid change traditions, customs, moral imperatives, laws, and constitutions are in danger of carrying their influence into a period in which many such mores are out of date and detrimental. In the United States our notions about liberty, free enterprise, and the role of government—opinions and beliefs—come to us from preindustrial days, before the large corporation with thousands of absentee stockholders, before the large, inclusive labor organizations, before mass production, huge city population, and extreme specialization played leading parts in the industrial and political world. Readjustment and replacement of our mental furniture are imperative if an expanding capitalism and a virile democracy are to live in an age in which interdependence rather than individual independence is in the foreground. The conventional and customary ways of thinking patterned in the good

¹ Two articles by the present writer which appeared in *Sociology and Social Research* give the backgrounds for this one, namely, "Social Goals in Peacetime," March-April 1947, and "Speeding up Human Evolution," November-December 1947.

² It is suggested that the readers of this article also read Hardin Craig, *Freedom and Renaissance*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949; Henry B. Parkes, *The American Experience*, New York: A. A. Knopf, 1947; and Arthur C. Millspaugh, *Democracy, Efficiency, Stability—An Appraisal of American Government*, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1942.

old times, which are no longer with us, may account in no small degree for the inability of Americans to discern the trends and shapes of things to come as the technological age rapidly develops.

In this period of indecision it may be stated that the American people sorely need an attractive goal. Have Americans lost the incentive of a common aim? Or are we drifting in the age of science without a compass? What is the "tie which binds"? Is there a tie or goal which binds the great mass of the American people—except perhaps the negative one of fear? Are there positive goals? Can the American people find and cherish a "basis for faith and action" which will lead to unified and enthusiastic support? In the years just ahead, Americans should be "willing to learn and to think" in order to further the well-being of the mass of the people.

If democracy and liberty are to be adjusted to the new and complex civilization characteristic of the middle of the twentieth century, the mind and wills of free men must be "moved by deep feeling." Furthermore, since in today's complexities the individual functions in industries and in the social world chiefly through groups, through teamwork, he should find new ways of expressing himself, ways not inherited from his pioneer ancestors.

American schools and colleges have been educating for power *over* others rather than power *with* others, for individual prowess and success rather than for teamwork and human betterment. Should our educational institutions in 1950 educate for individual power and prestige or for the development of a desire for justice and reasonableness? Clearly, it should be the latter. Through such a development comes the hope of world peace. However, world peace depends upon the spread of prosperity, upon the application of science and engineering to production, as well as upon education for teamwork in a "great community."

It has been pointed out that during the last half century there has been a distinct trend toward aggrandizement of the state and of those who govern. Also in the words of Arthur C. Millspaugh "the impulse to use force is less restrained than in the immediate past by law, morals, humanitarianism, and reason." Fascism and communism are extreme examples, but Great Britain and the United States show more or less tendency in the same direction. Is this trend due to technology? Is it due to the failure to understand human relations in a new complex world? Is the trend due to the influence of leaders? Is the growth of big business and big labor unions responsible? Is this trend due to war and the fear of war, or is it the result of the weakening of religious implications?

Traditionally, Americans have emphasized self-reliance and initiative. However, even in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century the individual was curbed and confined by custom, by generally accepted moral imperatives, and by legal restraints such as the establishment of property and contract rights. The totally unrestrained person has always been likely to become a menace to such of his fellows as come into contact with him. The Ten Commandments afforded the restraint of certain moral imperatives supported by divine sanctions. Throughout the long history of mankind, the individual has been hedged about by a variety of rules and customs under which the game of life was carried on.

As the men and women of the Western World pass quickly from a condition of relative independence and small population to a world of interdependence, specialization, urban population, and mass production, conduct conducive to general welfare takes on new aspects. Many of the time-honored imperatives are weakened or no longer apply. Today, the urban dweller, and in a lesser degree the rural dweller, is surrounded by man-made contrivances. Nature does not seem overpowering except in times of emergencies such as those caused by earthquakes, wind storms, floods, and great fires. The city dweller is inclined to emphasize the power and prestige of the men of science. Science and engineering have pushed back the curtain which hides the unknown. The unknown is still there, but it is a changed unknown. Religion in the suddenly developed modern technological civilization has lost its powerful hold upon the human spirit. The world has lost the idea of "purpose." New goals and new enthusiasms, social and spiritual, are needed to integrate and to inspire the people of democratic countries in a technological age.

"The ancient restraints" no longer act to confine the passions and impulses of individuals from flowing into antisocial channels. Within a short span of years great advances have been made in electrical engineering and in chemical and physical sciences. May we not be on the threshold of marvelous advances in human engineering? Education, brain using, the acceptance of an attractive goal—these are essential to such advance. Religion and education must provide new restraints fitted to a changed civilization and greatly modified man-to-man relationship. If these fail mankind in this new epoch, we are menaced by catastrophe.

Are peace, increased production, and greater leisure for all the goals toward which mankind will enthusiastically and positively press? Is it possible to generate an emotional enthusiasm for peace, for higher standards of living for the masses, for increased leisure for all? Or may

we expect such enthusiastic support of the negative aims of ending war, mass unemployment, abject poverty, and crime? The answer is that material goals do not attract enthusiastic long-time support. Science and logic do not lead great numbers of the population to adhere to a cause. Religion, tied to the unknown and to some great hope of a human destiny beyond the ken of man limited by time and space, alone appears to provide the attractions and positive goals which will lead the great masses of world population toward higher moral achievements for human betterment here on earth. Religious leaders will be required who are able to overlook sectarian differences and unite upon a crusade for world brotherhood. Men may hope, with the help of religion, to generate and to direct earnest and unselfish endeavors on the part of the great masses of our population. This will be the best possible insurance for world peace and happiness.

PERSPECTIVE IN RACIAL THEORY*

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This paper is concerned with the integration of three significant hypotheses in racial theory and the implications of this integration for general social theory. The work of Oliver C. Cox,¹ Robert E. Park,² and W. Lloyd Warner,³ may be integrated into a unified body of theory in which each becomes a part of the others. This paper proposes to show that when sociological theory is viewed with perspective three orders of social theory stand out, and these different orders divide the field of social theory into different levels of activity and implication. Hypotheses on one level need not exclude the possibility of coexisting hypotheses on another level because they are no more disposed to mutual exclusiveness than subway, surface, and elevated cars are to collision.

The three orders, having different complexity and scope, may be differentiated by (a) scope of interest, (b) relationship to empirical research, and (c) repetitive or nonrepetitive character. Hypotheses or theories on different levels need not be mutually exclusive; indeed there does exist an interdependence in which they corroborate one another. In particular, the third-order hypotheses support valid second-order hypotheses, and valid second-order hypotheses support a valid first-order hypothesis. The nature of the different orders of hypothetical concepts indicates that third-order hypotheses are limited in scope and are relatively more susceptible to empirical research so that these third-order concepts may be tested with a limited research staff and limited time. First-order hypotheses are much more difficult to test empirically. A first-order hypothesis is extremely comprehensive, compassing all of general social activity, and thus for substantiation requires the support of many second-order hypotheses each of which is itself supported by numerous third-order hypotheses. Considering the most complex and comprehensive hypothesis to be of first or highest order, the theories fall

* A research paper of the Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, prepared under the sponsorship of Preston Valien, Professor of Sociology.

¹ Oliver C. Cox, *Caste, Class and Race*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1948.

² Robert E. Park, "The Nature of Race Relations," in Edgar T. Thompson, ed., *Race Relations and the Race Problem* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1939), pp. 3-46.

³ W. Lloyd Warner, "A Comparative Study of American Caste," *op. cit.*, pp. 219-45.

into the following classifications: *First order*—Oliver C. Cox's class-struggle hypothesis is of first order, since it has the widest scope, is furthest removed from empirical research, and is nonrepetitive. *Second order*—Robert E. Park's natural history of race relations hypothesis is of second order, since it has a moderately wide scope, is somewhat removed from direct empirical research,⁴ and is repetitive in character.

Discussion of third order—In developing the structural frame for sociological theory it is necessary to establish its foundation and determine where its foundation pilings derive their strength. The foundation is made up of a number of discrete units each of which is very limited in scope and is in direct contact with observed social phenomena.

W. Lloyd Warner's caste and class theory is of this type. Allison Davis, Burleigh Gardner, Mary Gardner, Elizabeth Davis, and J. G. St. Clair Drake, working under the direction of Warner, performed field research in a deep South community of 17,000 people called "Old City." This work yielded over five thousand pages of records of overt behavior and verbalizations observed by a Negro married couple and a white married couple who through an extended period of one and a half years became parts of the socially defined Negro and white social groups in Old City. The results of this exhaustive study are presented in a book by the research workers entitled *Deep South*.⁵

Research such as this contributes the elemental material from which hypothetical consistencies may be derived. In so far as the material from such research is specific and objective, it must be accepted; and in so far as the hypotheses do not exceed the scope of the material, they may be accepted. In this particular study Warner's school has chosen to use the term *caste* in denoting the social differentiation between the Negro and white groups in Old City. Many people have contested the use of *caste* because of the connotations associated with it in connection with the social structure of India. Warner's group has, however, established the existence of a particular type of social organization which is described in *Deep South*. Since *Deep South* clearly defines this social structure as a functioning entity, the particular terminology is not important until the social structures of the United States and India are to be correlated or compared.

⁴ Dr. Park and researchers of his school have traveled extensively, gathering empirical data with which to test and shape the race relations cycle theory. One person or one school may perform the functions of gathering empirical data, forming third-order hypotheses, and then shaping second-order hypotheses, although two groups are most likely to divide these.

⁵ Allison Davis, *Deep South*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941.

Several third-order problems comparable to Warner's are (1) the social structure and dynamics of workers in a particular industry, (2) the social structure and dynamics of a particular informal group, (3) methods of communication between sociologically separated groups, (4) the social structure and dynamics around a large dam development such as Grand Coulee or T.V.A.

Discussion of second order. As we move up in complexity, we come to theoretical problems of the second order. These have a greater scope than those which have just been considered and consist of generalizations from third-order studies. Thus they are one degree removed from indirect empirical research and require research of a discerning integrative character.

Robert E. Park's theory of race relations is of second order. He is concerned with extracting from firsthand research, conducted in any area of the world, cyclic modes of behavior, or the repetitive processes involved in racial contact. Because of his interest in all areas of the world, Park's scope is greater than Warner's. He does, however, limit his interest to the sphere of race relations and in this manner distinguishes his work from that involved in general social theory.

Park indicates the repetitive character of his theory by showing that a cyclic process takes place as a result of racial contact in which

The interracial adjustments that follow such migration and conquest are more complex than is ordinarily understood. They involve racial competition, conflict, accommodation, and eventually assimilation, but all of these diverse processes are to be regarded as merely the efforts of a new social and cultural organism to achieve a new biotic and social equilibrium.⁶

Park sees that his racial theory is subordinate to general social theory. In the frame of reference for sociological theory presented here his theory falls into the second order. He states:

... that race conflicts in the modern world, which is already or presently will be a single great society, will be more and more in the future confused with and eventually superseded by the conflicts of classes.⁷

Sociological problems of second order comparable to Park's theory of a natural history of race relations are (1) conflict dynamics between workers and industrialists (data to be amassed from all areas of the world), (2) processes of political change as they are repetitive and have elemental similarity throughout the world, (3) dynamics of women's suffrage as the process has been repetitive with elemental similarity throughout the world.

⁶ Park, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45. It should be noted that Park's use of the term *class* is not the same as Cox's. Cox uses the term for specifically defined political and social classes, whereas Park uses it for the more common general economic classes.

Discussion of the first order. First-order hypotheses and theory arise from and are supported by second-order hypotheses in the same manner in which the second-order hypotheses were supported by third-order hypotheses. Thus an interdependent system is developed in which the higher orders depend for support on a multitude of lower-order and more circumscribed units.

Oliver C. Cox's theory is of the first order and finds itself dependent upon the support of second- and third-order hypotheses. Cox has advanced a theoretical and logical scheme for a first-order problem decades before such a hypothesis can be scientifically substantiated. That is to say, to have a foundation on which a first-order hypothesis may validly rest, hundreds of thousands of man-hours of research must have been spent in scientific research on lower-order social problems. This research will provide integral and integrated social units which by their characteristic mode will determine a particular first-order theory.

Cox in analyzing race relations does not concern himself with such relations per se, but seeks rather to study race relations as a part of a larger social theory. He sees racial tension promoted in a class struggle of the greater society. Cox considers the total society in a comprehensive social theory, viewing society through two grids, one of which stratifies society conventionally into three horizontal social classes and the other of which cuts society diagonally into two political classes. The social classes, consisting of upper, middle, and lower classes, are determined by a number of relatively nonsignificant social factors, whereas the political classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, are mortally opposed conflict groups. Cox sees a resolution of racial tension as a result of change in the general society in which the political class grid disappears.

Thus Cox's hypothesis is built upon a number of value judgments which he asserts as axioms in the development of his logical construct. In so doing he may be proceeding scientifically, for he is limited by the state of advancement of the social sciences. As time passes, additional research into the problems of social organization and processes may give empirical substantiation for the necessary axioms on which a first-order theory must rest. The patterns of third- and second-order hypotheses will indicate the trends of a nonrepetitive comprehensive social theory.⁸ It is only in this way that any first-order hypothesis, whether it be

⁸ Social theory not only is dependent on empirical research for substantiation and direction, but may benefit by extracting generalizations from a well-orientated set of empirical data. See Robert K. Merton, "The Bearing of Empirical Research upon the Development of Social Theory," *American Sociological Review*, 13:505-15, 1948.

revolutionary, evolutionary, or *status quo*, may be scientifically substantiated. The very comprehensiveness of a first-order hypothesis makes each of necessity exclusive of the others. Two social hypotheses requiring a tremendous amount of scientific research for substantiation which are of comparable order to Cox's are (1) a hypothesis holding that society grows through evolution from individualism to cooperative social interdependence and responsibility and (2) a hypothesis holding that society is by nature competitive and that the common good is served by competitive self-interest.

Conclusion. In conclusion, it may be stated that the outstanding work of three important schools in racial theory—namely, those of Warner, Park, and Cox—are not necessarily in conflict with one another. Although they exist on different levels of sociological theory, they are interdependent, the higher-order hypotheses requiring the substantiation of the lower-order hypotheses, while relating and integrating them. The body of theory for second- and third-order problems may be amassed only by concentrated attention to empirical research. If perspective and vision are to be maintained in social research, it is important not to spend time restating first- and second-order hypotheses. It is essential that most social researchers limit their spheres of interest to particular situations, that they come in direct contact with empirical data, so that they may build the foundation on which higher-order sociological theory may eventually be scientifically established.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

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Charles A. Ellwood, who lived from 1873 to 1945, was a second-generation American sociologist. He was one of the earliest and best known of the graduate students of Albion W. Small. He was also one of the most prolific of American sociological writers. He was broadly philosophical in his sociological views.

Ellwood's chief scholastic interest was in the study of human relations, "guided by humanized science." He emphasized "the intangible and imponderable factors in the human mind" more than the factors which are "observable and measurable." He opposed the use of force in the adjustment of interhuman relations, and argued for understanding and sympathy in these relations. He stood for a humanized religion as a guide for individual and group behavior.¹

Ellwood's interest in human relations was aroused by what he referred to, time after time, in writings and teachings—the social problem. In fact, he delivered a set of lectures and published a book on the subject. To him, the social problem "is now, what it has been in all ages, namely, the problem of the relations of men to one another," in short, "the problem of human living together."² His interest in human living together centered in all the failures of human behavior, and he proposed measures of reconstructing the living-together process. He strove to give "a scientific basis for progressive, in distinction from revolutionary or reactionary, social reconstruction."³

Ellwood found the weaknesses of living together (1) in the prevalence of a materialistic philosophy which "denies the reality of the spiritual values" necessary for civilization, in an individualistic philosophy which "denies the reality of the common life" and hence the need "for social responsibility and obligation," and (2) in a national egoism which "denies the reality of the common life of humanity and the unlimited obligation of nations to humanity."⁴

¹ Charles A. Ellwood, "Valedictory," *Social Science*, 20:5, January 1945.

² *The Social Problem* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915), p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Backgrounds. Ellwood's intellectual history contains many factors which throw light on the development of his sociological thought. When he was a college student, William James was in vogue in psychology, and Ellwood developed a psychological interest which he never forsook. He used the psychological approach to explain social phenomena and particularly the underlying nature of human relations. His doctoral dissertation (University of Chicago, 1896), which was entitled "Some Prolegomena to Social Psychology," revealed the influence of James. This use of the term *social psychology* in a prominent way twelve years before Ross's and McDougall's books bearing this concept were published is noteworthy. His attempt to substitute the term *psychological sociology* for social psychology was due to an antecedent structuring of his thinking in a sociological framework. It is significant that in 1912 he wrote a treatise on *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*, which when revised in 1917 became *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, and in 1925, *The Psychology of Human Society*. Moreover, the influence of McDougall, which was considerable in the first of these books, was largely eliminated in the third one. McDougall's instinct theory and his group mind theory were first accepted in a general way, then modified greatly, and finally were more or less repudiated.⁵

Not only Hobhouse's evolutionary philosophy but Schmoller's historical emphases appealed greatly to Ellwood. Hobhouse's evolutionism was given priority over Dewey's pragmatism, which Ellwood at first accepted. Paulsen's ethical analyses were accorded a large place in Ellwood's sociological thought, and Rauschenbusch's "social religion" was elaborated by Ellwood. Marett of Oxford led Ellwood to feel that his psychological analyses were inadequate. As a result, the latter gave a larger and larger place to culture and culture evolution, and in 1927 his *Cultural Evolution* was published. In this work many pages were devoted to a comprehensive description of the historical role of culture in human relations. While he continued to stress "mental attitudes and conscious values of individuals" as the essence of social life, he believed that they could not be understood apart from their rootage in social tradition.⁶

Lester F. Ward's emphasis on improvement through social telesis, or socially planned education, gave a framework to Ellwood's sociology throughout his life. Since he believed that human nature is composed

⁵ See Howard E. Jensen, "Development of the Social Thought of Charles A. Ellwood," *Sociology and Social Research*, 31:341-51, for an excellent summary of the persons who influence Ellwood extensively.

⁶ *Cultural Evolution* (New York: The Century Company, 1927), pp. 49 ff.

largely of attitudes and values which are learned, he saw great hopes for social reconstruction through planned educational procedures. While admitting temporary defeat, he never lost faith in the underlying correctness of his theory that human society could reconstruct its traditions and institutions if its leaders and its masses were socially intelligent.

Sociology and social psychology. To Ellwood sociology is "a study of the origin, development, structure, and function of the forms of human association," that is, of social groups.⁷ It is a science "of the more or less intelligent adjustments, even though they may be sometimes mistaken, which human groups have made, both to the physical conditions of life and among their own members."⁸ Since it is a science of social adjustment it "must be a science of human relations, not only of individuals to one another, but of groups to one another."⁹ Fundamental human relations must be understood if human beings are to live together successfully, that is, constructively and peacefully. If sociology is to be a science of social reconstruction, what is to be reconstructed? "Obviously it is customs and traditions, on one hand, and individual institutions and character on the other."¹⁰ Each must receive equal attention. At another point he said that the problems of sociology deal with the organization and the evolution of human society.¹¹

By social psychology Ellwood meant "social interaction, interstimulation, and response." These are found "at the basis of the cultural process and hence of the behavior of human groups and of the changes in their behavior."¹² But he never succeeded in developing what might have been called a system of social-psychological thought. The interpretation which he gave to social psychology throughout his career was in reality a psychological theory of social life. This theory he grounded "first, in the underlying traits and dispositions of men as furnished by organic evolution; second, in the influences of the environment, especially the psychosocial environment, which act upon the plastic natures of individuals; and third, in the resultant habits, attitudes, and values which individuals develop."¹³

⁷ *Methods in Sociology* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1933), p. 164.

⁸ "Starting Points in Sociology," *Social Science*, 19:151, July 1944.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹¹ *Sociology: Principles and Problems* (New York: American Book Company, 1943), p. 8.

¹² "The Cultural or Philosophical Theory of Society," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 10:11, September-October 1925.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Social philosophy was never separated from sociology or social psychology in Ellwood's thinking. He defined it as being "all that man has thought regarding human relations, their origins and destiny."¹⁴ He held that the social thought of the past "was so interwoven with the development of general philosophy and with philosophical implications of various sorts" that it would be wise to call it social philosophy.¹⁵ Moreover, practically all "social doctrines are still living in our present civilization and contending for mastery."¹⁶

Sociology is a science in the sense that it develops "tested knowledge" concerning human relations, and the scientific sociologist is "anyone who is attempting to furnish the world with dependable social facts and dependable social theories."¹⁷ Ellwood generally tried to connect the findings of sociology with the needs of everyday human life.

Society and the social group. A society, according to Ellwood, is the "collective or group life carried on by means of conscious relations between its members."¹⁸ It is "any group of individuals who carry on common activities or a common life by means of mental interstimulation and response."¹⁹ Society is something "that has sprung from the very processes of life itself."²⁰ It is found among the lowest organisms in that "they carry on certain life activities in common."²¹

A social group is any number of individuals who maintain conscious relations. Ellwood accepted and emphasized Cooley's concept of primary groups. He stated that there are three ways in which they help to indicate the nature of human society. (1) They socialize the individual by developing his social nature and they make possible his participation in the life of the larger groups. (2) They are the main carriers of tradition and custom, or culture, such as language, ideas, and values. (3) They are the sources of primary social ideals or patterns, having been "originated by experiences in these groups" such as ideals of love, service, and self-sacrifice.²²

¹⁴ *A History of Social Philosophy* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938), p. vii.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 553.

¹⁷ *Methods in Sociology*, p. 9.

¹⁸ *The Psychology of Human Society* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925), p. 7.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*

²⁰ *Sociology: Principles and Problems*, p. 374.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²² "Starting Points in Sociology," p. 155.

Ellwood also supplemented Cooley's discussion of secondary groups. These include large non-face-to-face groups, such as the nation-state, an economic class, a religious sect. The question is raised: Can "the pattern of sympathy and understanding which has been so successful in adjusting the relations between primary groups" be extended to the secondary groups? The answer is probably no, because the latter groups "cannot be characterized by uniformity of habit, thinking, and feelings."²³ Unity in a secondary group can perhaps be achieved "on a proper understanding and valuation of distances."²⁴

The earliest human groups had to be small primary groups. Large secondary groups were not able to develop "without considerable cultural equipment."²⁵ The latter create many social problems because they "have as yet developed no adequate means of control, not a great deal of unity, not much tolerance on the part of one section of their population for another."

Another classification of social groups is fourfold: (1) those whose social life is instinctive, as in the case of all animal societies below the human level; (2) those whose members are bound together by habitual and customary ties, e.g., preliterate tribes; (3) those whose members are kept together by authoritarian methods, for instance by Nazi methods; and (4) those whose members are controlled through personally accepted social standards and moral ideals.²⁶ Underneath this typology of groups the fundamental force is the mental attitudes of persons toward one another which indicate whether one type or another of a group exists and whether groups maintain unity or break up.

Three theories of the nature of society are stated and criticized. (1) The contract theory expounds the belief that society is "primarily an intellectual construction" or agreement. (2) The organismic theory conceives of society as being "wholly a product of the operation of the blind forces of organic nature." (3) The cultural theory leans to the belief that human societies are "largely creations of cultural development." Since culture is "a creation of the human mind" in interaction with other minds, the psychosocial theory of society is considered as being basic.²⁷

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

²⁵ *The Psychology of Human Society*, p. 119.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 138 ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 452 ff.

Three theories of the meaning of our social life are also discussed by Ellwood. (1) The goal and purpose is the happiness of the individuals. This hedonistic, individualistic, ego-centered theory has wide support in actual practice. (2) Self-realization or the self-development of individuals is also largely individualistic. This highest-development-of-the-self theory involves both constructive and destructive roles in human life. (3) The development of a harmonious society of human beings, requiring an others-centered and a humanity-welfare-centered motivation of all persons.²⁸

No discussion of social groups is complete without reference to social control. According to Ellwood, control is not primarily a matter of law or external restraint of individual members of a group but of developing an internal motivation of these persons whereby they will want to serve the group and society. Totalitarian states cannot long endure, because they use force and coercion so directly. A group has the crime it deserves, that is, the kind of conduct which it stimulates in its members or allows its members through good will or exploitation to stimulate in other members. If materialistic competition, for example, is encouraged, then people will engage in activities detrimental to others; but if justice and fair play and socioethical behavior are put foremost, then group and social welfare will be advanced.

Cooperation and socialization. Cooperation and socialization receive considerable attention in the writings of Ellwood. *Cooperation* is considered to be the more objective term and may or may not include socialization. The latter concept "describes certain internal changes in the character and conduct of individuals."²⁹ One level of cooperation is without sympathy and good will, but a second level includes sympathy and good will, and virtually identifies cooperation with socialization.³⁰ In another study Ellwood suggests three levels of cooperation: (1) working together for survival or individual gain, (2) working together on a sheer mutual-aid basis, (3) working together on a willing mutual-aid basis where others-centered motivation fully functions.³¹ This analysis is then carried further into a fourfold classification of coordination which appears to be somewhat synonymous with cooperation: (1) cooperation as a form of regulated conflict or modified hostility, (2) co-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 475, 476.

²⁹ *Christianity and Social Science* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), p. 72.

³⁰ *The World's Need of Christ* (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1940), p. 46.

³¹ *The Psychology of Human Society*, p. 149.

operation "where some of the participants dominate or exploit or selfishly use the rest of the group,"³² (3) cooperation involving toleration and some exchange of services with a qualified willingness, (4) cooperation "where all members of a group voluntarily cooperate" and "willingly render mutual aid," presumably for the welfare of other persons.³³ Ellwood does not make clear either whether this willing mutual aid is humanity wide or whether it would be rendered freely if such mutual aid worked against one's individual advancement.

Ellwood favored the organization of cooperatives. He supported privately organized cooperatives as an improvement on competitive capitalistic enterprise. He stated that voluntary cooperative enterprises give "all the benefits of private capitalism, with its premium upon individual initiative."³⁴

Socialization is the subjective aspect of cooperation and refers to the growth in capacity and will to act together, as indicated by Mac-Iver.³⁵ It includes a large sense of social responsibility. It involves not only identification with one's fellow men but also holding one's self "responsible for their welfare." It is actually a process of moralization.³⁶ Among individuals socialization is the growth of the "we-feeling" (as used by Ross), or of social-mindedness with full social responsibility being freely expressed. Among nations socialization means that nations will not merely cease national aggressiveness but that they will actively cooperate in equalizing the opportunities of civilization to the lower classes in all nations.

Culture and cultural evolution. In obtaining an understanding of human relations and of learning how to live together well, the cultural factors are judged to explain most of the psychosocial differences and conflicts. The substance of culture is custom and tradition, with customs being practically always "supported by traditions, that is, by the knowledge, ideas, beliefs, and standards of the group."³⁷ Customs and traditions may be viewed as "the objective and subjective aspects of the same process."³⁸ Traditions may come to be valued so highly that a group may make them "hard and fast and unchangeable and oppose any change whatsoever in them," no matter how great the need for the change

³² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

³³ *Loc. cit.*

³⁴ *The World's Need of Christ*, pp. 137, 138.

³⁵ *Christianity and Social Science*, p. 28.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³⁷ *The Psychology of Human Society*, p. 195.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

may be. This set of attitudes is called "traditionalism" and applies to institutions as well as to traditions.³⁹

Culture is the differential factor between human groups and all other groups. Ellwood might have added that culture is the differential factor between human groups—ethnic, religious, political, and so on. Animal groups have no way of storing up what each generation learns from its own experiences. Culture, whether tool-making, ritual-making, institution-making, or idea-making, is "all a process of learning and communication."⁴⁰ It evolves by laws of its own which "are only indirectly affected by the laws of organic evolution" or of physical evolution, and hence the methods of studying it involve different or special techniques.⁴¹ The statement that "organic evolution furnishes the capacity for culture, but social evolution develops the capacity" is an excellent summary of Ellwood's position.⁴² Culture is "an appreciation of values brought about through the accumulation of experience."⁴³ Culture is invention or achievement; it is a means of social control. It is "collective learning process produced by the interaction of human minds,"⁴⁴ and thus is fundamentally a psychosocial process. The method of culture is "invention, appreciation, diffusion, and accumulation,"⁴⁵ Ellwood's summary of culture is that it consists of "behavior patterns socially acquired and socially transmitted by means of symbols."⁴⁶ Perhaps he should have added "and by their appropriate meanings."

Ellwood developed what he tentatively called the "parabola of culture development." He thought of culture patterns as changing very slowly during the first thousands of years in human history as a result of becoming enmeshed in static forms of traditions and customs. Then, with the development of incipient reasoning ability, or some catastrophic happening, a period of sudden and marked changes occurred. This period was followed by one in which we still live, where the early, the primitive, the irrational contend for dominance with rational and carefully planned procedures. For example, according to the parabola of the development of property, primitive man had "little sense of

³⁹ "Starting Points in Sociology," p. 162.

⁴⁰ *Cultural Evolution*, p. 6.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴² Howard E. Jensen, "Development of the Social Thought of Charles Abram Ellwood," *Sociology and Social Research*, 31:344, May-June 1947.

⁴³ *Cultural Evolution*, p. 42.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴⁵ *Man's Social Destiny in the Light of Science* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1929), p. 67.

⁴⁶ "Culture as an Elementary Factor in Human Social Life," *Social Science*, 10:33, October 1935.

private ownership and few private belongings." Then came inventions, and the day of communal property was followed by the reign of private property. Then with the growth of the sense of social responsibility property was bound "to be limited to its rational, individual, and social utility," and state or common ownership arose. Hence, a parabola-like development may be discerned when the communalism of primitives is balanced by the public ownership trends of today.⁴⁷

Another parabola consists of the slow development of science in the early forms of religion, a rapid rise of scientific methods, and now a slow development of humanized science.⁴⁸ Likewise, the parabola of the development of morality may be noted. First, for long centuries there was almost no development in custom-made morality. Then, through a development in education the morality of individual power arose, followed by the current slow development of humanitarian morality.⁴⁹

There are several theories of the causes of cultural evolution, for example, (1) the geographic-environmental, (2) the racial-biological, (3) the psychic-accident-imitation, (4) the habit-environmental, (5) the instinct-habit-environmental, and (6) the psychosocial. This last theory as held by Ellwood is "a process of active adaptation on the part of individuals and groups, carried on by the human brain as an active adaptive organ and by means of the intercommunication among the members of human groups."⁵⁰

The decay of culture develops as no part of a cycle or inherent necessity. It seems always to take place as a result (1) of the decay of private morals through luxury and self-indulgence, followed (2) by a decay of public morals, (3) by a growth of social disorders, (4) by strife between economic classes, and (5) by continuous international wars.⁵¹

Cultural evolution is the fifth and latest stage of universal evolution. The whole sequence is: cosmic, organic, mental, social, and cultural. Cultural evolution may be regarded as "a manifestation of mental and social evolution under human conditions."^{52*}

⁴⁷ *Cultural Evolution*, p. 191.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁵¹ *The Psychology of Human Society*, pp. 271, 272.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

* The discussion of the sociology of Charles A. Ellwood will be concluded in the next issue of *Sociology and Social Research*.

SOCIAL WELFARE

IT'S FUN TO RETIRE. By Arthur Judson Brewster. Syracuse: The Syracuse University Press, 1949, pp. 200.

The book came by its title naturally. When Mr. Brewster retired from the faculty of the College of Business Administration, Syracuse University, and from his position as advertising manager for L. C. Smith & Corona Typewriter, Inc., he was "banqueted, flooded with presents, kissed by beautiful girls, and made to feel like a big shot."

Writing frankly, honestly, and engagingly, the author airs his pet peeves, confesses his participation in a demonstration of Yale students which broke up a campaign meeting of William Jennings Bryan in 1896, recalls a campaign trip with Theodore Roosevelt and a hotel bathroom interview with William Howard Taft. Drawing upon his experiences in the fields of journalism, advertising, and education, Brewster appeals to wide reader interest.

L. R. JUST

THE CRIMINAL. By August Vollmer. Brooklyn: The Foundation Press, Inc., 1949, pp. viii+462.

This is not merely a description of the criminal and the causes of crime, but the observations of a man who has had many years of experience as a chief of police and as a teacher of police administration in the University of California and the University of Chicago. August Vollmer is recognized by many as the "dean" of the chiefs of police in this country. Some may not regard this book as a scholarly treatise, partly because of the absence of bibliographies and footnotes to sources used, also because of the relative absence of statistical and similar objective material. Even though the author does not identify the sources of information, it is obvious that he gathered a wealth of material over a period of years. He discusses the characteristics of the criminal and the conditioning factors of crime, which he calls aspects, under the following headings: biological, physiological, psychological, sociopsychological, pathological, and law enforcement. Although certain environmental aspects are mentioned, the chief emphasis is on the characteristics of the criminal. The complexity of the problem is recognized, and no simple or single-cause explanation is offered or endorsed. Extreme views of crime are evaluated critically. The illustrations and interpretations make the book interesting reading.

M. H. N.

PROBLEMS IN LABOR RELATIONS. By Benjamin M. Selekman, Sylvia Selekman, and Stephen H. Fuller. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950, pp. ix+672.

The broad social perspective of this casebook on collective bargaining may be inferred in part from its usage of such sociological terms as conflict, accommodation, cooperation, adaptive behavior, work community, institutional relationships, and relationships through social structure. What the book does is to present cases on collective bargaining procedures, recording the behavioral activities of all those present at the bargaining table. This makes for dramatic realism and affords a nice degree of penetrating insight into the labor situation under discussion as well as the situation at the bargaining table. The authors have placed the cases under three major divisions—those which deal with the internal shop community, those which arise at the bargaining table to reveal the institutional relationships between the union and the company, and those which deal with problems of adaptation over a period of time.

At the bargaining table the reader may take the place of an observer and see in action what happens when a union salesman is discharged, when an impasse over seniority occurs, when a time-study plan under new management is imposed, and when demotions are made. Several long case histories are presented including the National Food Specialties, Inc., vs. the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, and the Ford Motor Company vs. the United Automobile Workers CIO Union. At the conclusion of each case are discussion topics, which are designed not only to review the principal points of the proceedings but also to attract attention to the situational behavior involved, e.g., "Interpret and evaluate the behavior of the people who play focal roles in the situation. Support your answer by reference to the evidence presented in the record, noting particularly the sentiments that seem to weigh most with union officials, the management executives, and the leaders of the special and regular inspectors." These stimulating problems give significant insight into the authors' plan for making lucid the central thesis that collective bargaining must be studied as human behavior. The book is highly commendable in that the cases selected actually show executives, union officials, and workers interacting within the patterns of collective bargaining. It might be stated that most of the cases bear disguised names of persons, unions, and companies, and that the cases have been the foundation of the courses in Labor Relations and Collective Bargaining at the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration.

M.J.V.

A HANDBOOK ON HUMAN RELATIONS. By Everett R. Clinchy. New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1949, pp. x+146.

The author, the President of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, has primarily directed this book to workers in management and labor, attempting to improve intergroup relations. Dr. Clinchy, writing in a popular style, hopes to bridge the great gap that exists between scientific research on the human race and common conceptions of man and his history.

While the benefits of teamwork and the economic cost of prejudice are stressed, the psychological effect of prejudice is somewhat neglected. The author places great faith in increased communication and understanding among ethnic groups as a way to eliminate prejudice. Discussion groups and education are the main techniques advocated to reduce tensions.

A program to promote group unity and an annotated bibliography are given. Despite the title the work is not a comprehensive source book.

ROBERT M. CURRY

WARTIME PRODUCTION CONTROLS. By David Novick, Melvin L. Anshen, and William C. Truppner. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949, pp. viii+441.

The techniques of production control devised and administered by the War Production Board and its predecessor agencies during the war years 1940-45 are given a critical appraisal. It is shown that records of industrial control in 1917-18 and in 1941-42 were in many respects parallel, that mistakes were duplicated. The real problem in wartime industrial control technique is not what to do (policy) or how much to do, but how to do it. The authors indicate how various and chaotic were the methods used by these control agencies—individual priority actions, blanket priority authority, horizontal and vertical systems, quota systems, centralized and decentralized controls. At no time were the controls over production fully effective in securing maximum balanced production for war purposes.

The authors indicate that what is needed is a program for industrial mobilization which includes both policy and procedures, an agency to be under civilian direction, working in close cooperation with the military services but not subordinate to them. Such an agency must be in existence and prepared to function at a moment's notice, ready for any future war with policies and procedures founded on previous experience. The study considers the special problems of essential commodities, such as

lumber, tires, cotton fabrics. It analyzes problems of scheduling, construction, maintenance of plant, inventories, etc. The authors are extraordinarily well prepared to make this study; their findings and recommendations should be taken to heart by citizens and government officials alike.

J.E.N.

ACHIEVING MATURITY. By Jane Warters. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1949, pp. xi+349.

In this book Warters has given a simple but comprehensive explanation of the period of adolescence. It is written for the young people who are passing through this difficult stage of life, to assist them in making a satisfactory adjustment to adult society. The author's aim has been to present a comprehensive picture of the problems facing one who seeks maturity, as well as to offer information and sources of aid that will assist him in his quest.

In order to attain her goals Warters has used a commendable approach. Instead of attempting to identify the problems of the adolescent and presenting a solution for each, she has dealt with the various aspects of personality and social adjustment as a whole, with the emphasis on enabling the reader to solve his own problems satisfactorily. Where specific problems are considered, their relationship to one's total adjustment to society is pointed out. The book has been written from a psychoanalytic viewpoint but in nontechnical, understandable language. The titles of the fifteen chapters are descriptive and illuminating. Some of these are "You and Your Body," "You and Others," "You and Your Frustrations," and "You and Your School." A chapter is also included on the description and etiology of common neuroses. The book is well documented, and all but two chapters include lists of appropriate references. It is particularly suited for the senior high school level and would make an excellent text for a course in social adjustment, since it discusses many problems which are pertinent, interesting, and thought provoking to the adolescent.

HENRY L. MANHEIM

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH CRIMINAL LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION FROM 1750. By Leon Radzinowicz. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, pp. xxiv+853.

This work traces against a wide social and political background the history of penal thought and of the administration of criminal justice in England. The dominant purpose of the author has been to display the

gradual growth of public opinion which has led to the reforms brought about by modern criminal legislation. A major theme of the present volume, which analyzes the movement for reform from 1750 to 1833, is the progressive restriction of capital punishment.

Part I of the book indicates the extent of capital punishment in the eighteenth-century criminal law in England and the policy of penal legislation in specific cases of larceny and the Waltham Black Act. Part II deals with the actual administration of statutes imposing capital punishment, the commutation of death sentences, and opposing attitudes of leading jurists. Beginning with Part III, the doctrines and issues for penal reform are discussed; the actual movement for reform of criminals from 1750 to 1833 is developed in Parts IV and V.

This is one of the most scholarly works in criminology which has appeared in a number of years. The work should prove of value not only for jurists but for students of criminology and the sociology of law. The latter purpose is served by the author's insight into the social and political aspects of criminal reform legislation. Law is regarded as a social institution broadly interrelated with other institutions and social values. The author's annotations, bibliography, and extensive appendices add much to the value of the study.

J.E.N.

RACES AND CULTURE

RACE RELATIONS IN A DEMOCRACY. By Ina Cornine Brown. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949, pp. viii+205.

The author succeeds in bringing together in one place some of the more important information that is vital to "an understanding of Negro-White relations in the United States." In doing so she concludes that never in the history of the Negro in our country "have American Negroes been treated as persons and valued as persons rather than as instruments." An emphasis is given to trends and movements, and especially to "ends to be achieved in race relations." Dr. Brown suggests "the removal of the conditions that make segregation appear necessary to the white situation," by attacking "the problems of poverty, economic insecurity, overpopulation," poor educational facilities for all the people, and by giving "equality of economic, educational, and civic opportunities for Negroes." The sort of security afforded by the Farm Security Administration and the Tennessee Valley Authority is approved.

Finally, the race problem boils down to an understanding of human relations by everybody. As a first step, Dr. Brown proposes "the pooling of what knowledge we now have by bringing the social scientists together in an 'Oak Ridge' to work on the problems of human problems." The laboratories for such a project would be every community in the nation which would become centers for studying all the social problems, including the racial one. The style of the book is clear, direct, and well suited to widespread use by study groups.

E.S.B.

HABITAT, ECONOMY, AND SOCIETY. A Geographical Introduction to Ethnology. By C. Daryll Forde. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 7th edition, 1949, pp. xvi+500.

The author considers as a whole the life of a number of tribes, grouped according to their way of life but ranging in distribution from occupants of equatorial forests to those of the Arctic tundra. By this means he explores some of the relations between the trilogy—habitat, economy, and society. The method used is largely inductive. It is his purpose to deal with the broad features of economic patterns and to consider their relation to physical environment, to social organization, and to major factors in the growth of civilization. It is therefore found unnecessary to deal extensively with religion and ritual, which are touched upon only incidentally and by allusion.

With this basic frame of reference for guidance, the peoples studied are grouped as food gatherers, cultivators, and pastoral nomads. The culture of each tribe or people is first described and analyzed as a unit. The ways of life represented by the seventeen peoples range from the collectors in the Malayan forests to the North American Indians, the fishing peoples of British Columbia, the reindeer hunters in the Siberian tundra, and the Eskimo in Arctic America. The cultivators are located in the Amazon forest and the African forests, in Oceania, and the Malabar coast; the Hopi and Yuman Indians are also in this group. Pastoral nomadic life is represented by the East African plateau, the camel breeders of Northern Arabia, the horse and sheep herders of Central Asia, and the reindeer herders of Siberia.

After all these cultures have been considered separately, they are re-examined for a composite study of habitat and economy. This part of the study is comparative, and the author arrives at ethnological principles which are significant for its major purpose. First published in 1934, this work has been highly esteemed. It remains worthy of continued favor.

J.E.N.

REASON, RELIGION, AND RACE. By Robert B. Eleazer. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950, pp. 160.

Evidently designed for use by discussion groups, this small book covers the problems of minority peoples in various parts of the world. It is written in the light of Christian ethics and of the latest thinking of competent racial authorities. Some of its chapter topics are Christian and Jew, White Man and Red, Orientals in American Life, Two Million Mexican Americans, The Negro in American History, the Gifts of Black Folk, and Interracial Tensions in Other Lands. Several practical suggestions are given for reducing racial tensions. In view of the fact that so comprehensive a picture is presented of racial problems, the treatment of any specific question has necessarily had to be brief. However, the main direction for the solution of racial tensions is made plain.

E.S.B.

STUDIEN ZUR SOZIOLOGIE — Festgabe für Leopold v. Wiese —. Edited by L. H. Ad. Geck, Jürgen v. Kempski, and Hanna Meuter. Mainz: Internationaler Universum-Verlag, 1948, pp. 192.

These fifteen "Sociological Studies" are contributions of former students, colleagues, and friends in honor of Leopold von Wiese on his seventieth birthday. Professor Christian Eckert, Director of the Curatorium of the University of Cologne till 1933, gives a very amiable biographical note of von Wiese. We learn that von Wiese was one of the few who kept in touch with those who were eliminated professionally by the Nazis.

Eckert states that von Wiese worked to make sociology a realistic science of the associative and dissociative processes of human interaction, and that he spoke of "the older sociology as a mixture of thoughts and feelings of all possible theoretical and applied fields." If one may use this statement for the evaluation of the "Sociological Studies" presented in this symposium, then one could accept only the following papers as contributions to sociological thought: Christian Eckert, "Leopold von Wiese, seine Persönlichkeit, sein Lebenswerk"; L. H. Ad. Geck, "Zur Dogmengeschichte einer allgemein-soziologischen Theory der Zwischenmenschlichen Distanz"; H. Maus, "Geschichtsphilosophie und Soziologie"; Hanna Meuter, "Soziologie am Werke des geistigen Neubaus"; and Waldemar Zimmermann's study, "Das 'Soziale' im geschichtlichen Sinn-und Begriffswechsel." The papers by Ad. Geck and H. Maus justify a brief discussion in this limited space.

Geck traces the development of social distance. He reveals a thorough knowledge of American sociological research. He compares Park's use of the concept of social distance with that of von Wiese's, and discusses the importance of the social distance scale as developed by Bogardus. Geck suggests the application of the scale for the measurement of group tension. It is noteworthy that Edward Shils, though independently of Geck, comes to a similar conclusion. H. Maus emphatically states that sociology which expects to be taken seriously can no longer avoid the task of investigating the organization of society (*bürgerliche Gesellschaft*), and in particular the life situations of the individual as resulting from his working relationships. Maus condemns, therefore, the "do-nothing" social metaphysics and the presumptuous historical philosophy. He concludes that German sociologists must now employ firsthand observation and scientific analysis of the data based upon a "comprehensive theory." But he does not discuss how he will establish this "comprehensive theory."

Overemphasis on the importance of the formulation of a general sociological theory or social theory appears to be a German cultural compulsive. It is, at least, contrary to the indifference of American sociology toward the formation of a general theory. Most of the writers imply that German sociology failed in the analysis of the social processes which led to the breakdown in 1933. This implication appears to be more cathartic than realistic because the formlessness of the multitude of sociopolitical and socioeconomic schools could hardly be used for a realistic analysis of the social processes that led to the breakdown. Neither were the sociocultural systems of Spragner, Jaspers, Heidegger, Litt, Freyer, and others suited for an interpretation of social reality.

RICHARD O. NAHRENDORF

Drake University

GENERAL ANTHOLOGY. By Harry Holbert Turney-High. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1949, pp. xx+581.

This book is designed as a general text in anthropology. Emphasis is placed on the concept of culture, the development of prehistoric culture, and cultural variation among contemporary primitive peoples. The chapters fall into four divisions: basic concepts and data, archaeology, ethnography, and ethnology and social anthropology. There is a sufficiently thorough coverage in all parts of the book, a clear statement of principles, and a sound scheme of analysis, which together should make this a successful introductory textbook.

J.E.N.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILL ROGERS. By Donald Day, Editor.
Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949, pp. xvii+410.

This is a unique autobiography, for it speaks through the sayings of its subject, in terms of his remarks to his audiences and to the readers of his column, arranged chronologically. The editor has done a difficult task well. The comments of Will Rogers, whether on the stage or in his "column," were a "day-by-day story of his life." The editor's aim has been "to let Will tell you how he became the spokesman and watchdog for the inarticulate public," and to let him say again "the pertinent things he said during probably the most critical period of change in American life," that is, from about 1925 until his untimely death in 1935.

The reader must realize that a considerable portion of Will Rogers' humor lay in the way he spoke, his mannerisms, the inflections of his voice. Hence, the sayings in this book are to be viewed as a running commentary on events as they happened day after day, from a common-sense viewpoint, and not primarily as examples of American humor. The book is replete with "homey" and homely philosophy. His stand for conservation of national resources, for national economy, for a strong protective air force, and for the righting of a topsy-turvy world began twenty-five years ago. To him it seemed that "All God's chilluns want guns, goin' to put on the guns, goin' to buckle on the guns and smear up all of God's Heaven."

E.S.B.

MAN'S RELIGIONS. By John B. Noss. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949, pp. xii+812.

This very readable book describes and interprets the religions which have been outstanding in history. It has been a major aim of the author to bridge the interval between the founding of the religions and their present state. In a sense, then, the work is a story of religions in process of change. Religion thus becomes a dynamic institution.

Following a brief introductory survey of primitive and bygone religions, more extended attention is given to the religions of India, of the Far East, and of the Near East. The list includes Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Shinto, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The historical and cultural analysis of the author is enriched by excerpts from the literature of each religion. Students of social and cultural origins and of the history of civilization should find this book invaluable. It is also a book for the layman to enjoy.

J.E.N.

RACE AND CULTURE. By Robert Ezra Park. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950, pp. xxii+403.

The planners of this volume deserve the special appreciation of all the former students of Dr. Park, for they have brought together within one set of covers a total of twenty-nine articles and introductions written by Dr. Park but published over a span of years extending from 1913 to 1944 and in a variety of different periodicals and books. Dr. Park's former students will make extended reference use of this book through the coming years. All students of race relations, in fact, of human relations, will find in this treatise key ideas to the basic relationships of life.

In the Preface, written by Everett C. Hughes, emphasis is given to Park's concept of marginal man and to the fact that Park's essays on race relations really deal with social processes and social interaction as a general process. Dr. Hughes pays this just tribute: "Park probably contributed more ideas for analyses of racial relations and cultural contacts than any other modern social scientist." He might have said, "than any other person."

In the Autobiographical Note, dictated by Dr. Park shortly before his death in 1944 when he was nearly eighty years of age, he refers to William James' essay on "A Certain Blindness in Human Beings," that is, "the blindness each of us is likely to have for the meaning of other people's lives." The idea impressed Park with a steadily increasing meaning, for he refers to it in a number of different places in his writings. Park, a journalist before he was a sociologist, became deeply interested in the Big News, not simply the news that appears daily in the press but the news that lies behind the news, that is, the meanings that the daily events which persons experience have for these persons. It is out of these deeper meanings that human problems arise and civilization is evolved.

The papers are arranged under four main headings: Culture and Civilization, Race Relations, Racial Attitudes, and The Marginal Man. While these essays will not be reviewed here, one or two far-reaching ideas may be noted: Race relations are not just the coming together of individuals of different so-called races, but they are the coming together of different racial groups that are conscious of their differences; culture is defined at one point as "those habits in individuals that have become customary, conventionalized, and accepted in the community." From these statements of race and of culture, the essays roam far and wide in their stimulating discussion of human relations.

E.S.B.

PROGRESS IN NEGRO STATUS AND RACE RELATIONS: 1911-1946.

By Anson Phelps Stokes, *et al.* New York: The Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1948, pp. 219.

This volume, written by the leading officials of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, is a report of the program of and the activities encouraged by this organization in an attempt to improve the conditions of Negro education and race relations in the United States and in Africa during the period 1911-1946. Most of the volume is concerned with a specific detailed report of the activities of this organization and will be of interest only to those who desire information on these details.

Five short chapters in the volume, however, should be of interest to all who seek information concerning the progress of the Negro in the United States (Chapters V-IX). These chapters include outline data on the following conditions: (1) evidence of Negro progress, (2) major factors in recent Negro progress, (3) principal obstacles confronting Negro progress, (4) desirable emphases for small foundations working for Negro progress, and (5) dates in the history of Negro progress. Although these chapters are weighted in favor of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, they offer much valuable information concerning the progress of the Negro in the United States, and suggest several steps that might be followed by individuals or other organizations that are working toward the improvement of the status of the Negro and of race relations in the United States.

EUGENE S. RICHARDS

Texas State University

THREE WORLDS OF PERU. By Frances Toor. New York: Crown Publishers, 1949, pp. ix+239.

The readers of Miss Toor's studies of Mexico will have a good idea what to expect from this book on Peru. Miss Toor travels with close observation and returns with several full notebooks. She has a special interest in people, in their customs, their pageants, their daily habits of living and of worshiping. She looks for the most interesting aspects of cultural behavior, without attempting to evaluate this behavior in terms of the good and bad. She gives extensive details of the daily activities of the peoples whom she visits and takes pains to be accurate. She is a careful reporter who gives few sociological interpretations of her data.

In describing the people of Peru Miss Toor gives attention first to the coastal region, then to the Andean territory, and finally to the eastern, jungle region. She finds that Peru of all the South American countries "most appeals to the imagination." She divides the Peruvians

into Indians, Mistis, whites, Chunchos, zambos, and mestizos, and she obtained access to the homes of all classes. She visited many out-of-the-way places and found Cuzco one of the most interesting cities in Peru. Her description of Machu Picchu, the lost city of the Andes that was discovered in 1911 by Hiram Bingham, is brief but important. Because of traveling by plane she covered a great deal of ground and obtained, literally, an excellent view of Peru and of its varied landscapes and peoples. She has included seventy-five excellent photographs, chiefly of Andean life and customs.

E.S.B.

DYNAMICS OF PREJUDICE. By Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, pp. xix+227.

The subtitle, *A Psychological and Sociological Study of Veterans*, explains a part of the nature of this book. The veterans in question were studied relative to their attitudes toward minority groups. In addition, an attempt was made to find out the connections, if any, between hostility toward minority groups and environmental factors.

The research method used was that of the intensive interview. Answers were sought to certain specific questions, e.g., Is hostility toward one minority group of the same quality as the hostility toward another minority group? Are there definite relationships between a veteran's family, educational, economic, political, and social status backgrounds, and his prejudices toward minority groups?

The book is one of a series of studies of prejudices. The titles of the four other volumes in the series are *The Authoritarian Personality*, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder*, *Rehearsal for Destruction*, and *Prophets of Deceit*. The study for *Dynamics of Prejudice* was conducted at the University of Chicago under a grant from the Department of Scientific Research of the American Jewish Committee.

The investigators had three major hypotheses: (1) Hostility toward outgroups is "a function of the hostile individual's feeling that he has suffered deprivations in the past." (2) Thus hostility is also a function of the hostile person's anxiety "in anticipation of future tasks, as inferred from his expectations of deprivation." (3) When an individual blames the outgroup for his own failures, and projects undesirable characteristics denied in himself upon outgroup members, he is showing "a lack of ego strength and of inadequate controls which favor irrational discharge and evasion rather than rational action."

Space does not permit a discussion of the findings. Three may be stated in abbreviated form: (1) The "individual's stereotypes are not

only vitally needed defense mechanisms, but are persistent, even under the impact of such immediate and realistic experiences as service with Jews and Negroes under conditions of war." (2) The data seem to indicate that to understand intolerance it is less important to study the economic and social background of the individual "than to investigate the nature of his social mobility." (3) The explanation of racial intolerance involves personality structure, "the defensive needs of the individual, the economic and social structure of the community, and the ethnic realities of the moment." The foregoing review does not begin to do justice to the merits of this treatise.

E.S.B.

THE COLLEGE NISEI. By Robert W. O'Brien. Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1949, pp. viii+165.

The author begins with a brief historical background of the second-generation Japanese and describes effectively the shock of Pearl Harbor and of the war upon the Nisei, who, for the most part, recognized that despite their American outlook and loyalty they would be held under suspicion because of their Issei parents. However, most of them tried hard and succeeded fairly well in making the best of the tough situation they found when they were forced into relocation centers.

When opportunity was afforded Nisei who were eligible to enter colleges and universities in the Mountain states, the Middle West, and the East, many responded despite fears as to how they might be mistreated. In the main, they were received well and they made good. The author properly gives considerable space to the activities of the National Student Relocation Council. Under the auspices of the Council the admission of the Nisei to colleges and universities was carried forward with considerable facility.

Of outstanding importance are the four maps on pages 82, 112, 113, and 138, especially for comparative purposes. The first shows the distribution of 3,530 Nisei college students in 1941; the second, the distribution of 1,493 Nisei students in 1943; the third, the distribution of 2,870 Nisei students in 1945-46; and the fourth, their total college placements, July 1942-July 1946.

Among the significant findings at which the author arrives, the following may be given: (1) Dispersion made a break with Japanese customs and institutions, thereby speeding up the assimilation process. (2) The wide area of dispersion of the Nisei made for an enlarged interracial education process for both the Nisei and the white Americans. (3) Community acceptance and sponsorship in advance of migration set

a new pattern in race relations and reduced the possibilities of conflict for the college Nisei. (4) Contacts of the college Nisei on an economically noncompetitive level may have pointed the way toward a partial solution of minority problems. These findings comprise a real contribution to the understanding of the assimilation process. E.S.B.

PATTERNS OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH. By C. C. Coleman. New York: The Exposition Press, 1949, pp. 44.

The author, a minister in the South, decries paternalism in the South and claims that gradualism is ineffective because "it fails to come to grips with the issue at hand." Its motto is, Wait. While there is little to be said in behalf of paternalism, there is a type of gradualism which is taking place more or less continually and which is modifying many aspects of race relations in the direction of democracy. The author advocates a program of "cooperative goodwillism." He pleads that Jim Crowism be done away with because it is "debasing, insulting, and reducing the entire area to tragic absurdity." The list of changes that Negroes are fighting for includes equal rights in voting, in holding office, in the courts, in employment, in public education, in patronizing business places open to the public, and in the use of traveling facilities. The author urges that Negroes be treated as human beings, that not all be condemned because of the sins of some, that name-calling be stopped, that judgment against a Negro be withheld until the main facts are really known, and that fine experiences of white with colored people be broadcast. This brochure, while not documented, is written frankly and with great earnestness by one who knows how the discriminations against the Negro actually affect many people. E.S.B.

COOPERATIVE GROUP LIVING. An International Symposium on Group Farming and the Sociology of Cooperation. By H. S. Infield and J. B. Maier, Editors. New York: Henry Koosis & Company, 1950.

In this symposium by twenty authors who give brief accounts of cooperative activities in different rural areas the editors have brought together a considerable variety of descriptions of serious efforts to meet the needs of life through working together. The book brings within one compass crisp statements regarding the FSA cooperative farms, the Macedonia Community in Georgia, the *ejidos* in Mexico, the Kvtzshs in Israel, the postwar kolkhoz in Russia, the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia, the industrial cooperatives of wartime China, Moslem rural cooperation in North Africa, Resettlers' Cooperatives in Eastern Germany, and the Saskatchewan experiments.

All these accounts afford an opportunity that was not utilized by the editors, namely, of making a comparative analysis of the origins, methods of operation, conditions of operation, strengths and failures of each. The distinctions between cooperation as a process and collectivism as an ism are not brought out. A sociological analysis of cooperatives logically follows, using the concrete descriptive materials in the book as subject matter. Part II on "The Sociology of Cooperation," while making some good points, falls far short of what might have been achieved with the case materials at hand. The book lacks a needed index. Cooperation is explained (Charles W. Wood) as being an ideology "with no discrimination and no one barred from its benefits," as being based "not only on our need to be served but our need to become servants and bear one another's burdens. If Jesus was right, this movement should become great among us."

E.S.B.

SOCIAL THEORY

PROGRESS AND POWER. By Carl Becker. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949, pp. xliv+116.

Progress and power are traced in an unusual manner as man and culture are surveyed in broad terms for a time scale of 500,000 years, presumably from the time of *Pithecanthropus erectus* to the present. Human intelligence and implements of power are regarded as correlated conditions of progress. The time scale consists of four periods. The first, covering 450,000 years, was the hardest to meet and showed slow advance in culture and power; the second, covering 50,000 years, showed some acceleration in cultural growth and power and ended what may be termed the prehistoric period. The author creates a feeling of respect for the attainments of man as preparation for the 6,000 years which remain for consideration. The third period of 5,000 years was characterized by much more startling achievements, the influence of writing and the sword as instruments of power being of chief importance in explaining the modifications in social structure and the growth of culture and power. The final or fourth period of 1,000 years has been characterized by the development of instruments of precision.

It is shown that in each successive period something new has emerged for the advancement of knowledge and power. As man has extended his matter-of-fact knowledge and apprehension to include the entire outer world of nature and its forces, he may in time extend his knowledge and power to include the world of human relations.]

J.E.N.

THE COMMUNITY OF MAN. By Hugh Miller. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949, pp. 169.

This book raises many challenging problems and suggests answers in attempts to reconcile the scientific method of objectivity with the subjective faith found in Christian religion. A few of the problems raised are those existing between communistic Russia and capitalistic United States. The former places emphasis upon group priority over, against, and above individual needs and desires; the latter upon individual choice and individual moral responsibility. Dr. Miller subscribes to the premise that both of these national groups are needed to balance each other and the world society.

He discusses the problem of man's adaptation to three distinct situations: (1) internal adaptation to the group, (2) external or intergroup adaptation, and (3) economic adaptation, or to external nonhuman nature. Man's conquest of nature and the evolutionary development of reason have come about through this adaptation process.

The fundamental problem is to "bring all human groups into the one comprehensive association which is civilization," and here the author places his emphasis on biology, or, to be more concrete, the science of genetics and man's understanding of science through which he can control himself and resolve the crucial problem toward a world society.

The book loses some of its force and conviction through the use of flamboyant language such as "let there be no more war, but peace and good will in the cosmos."

NICK MASSARO

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT AND PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT. By John E. Anderson. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1949, pp. xvi+720.

Designed primarily for college freshmen and sophomores so that they may better understand the problems of human adjustment, Professor Anderson's book may be said to have fulfilled its purpose. Its fundamental propositions are simply and clearly stated. Its organization is logical and well formulated. Beginning with a brief and well-pointed discussion on the importance of human adjustments, its range extends from an examination of the human equipment for living to learning skills and to an account of motivation and social behavior, and reaches, in conclusion, the nature of adjustment and orientation to adult life.

Included in some of the discussions are materials gathered from experimental research. The author has wisely kept the social point of view most of the time, emphasizing that all human relations are

more or less determined by social influences. There is nice recognition of the fact that personality problems are exacting at times because "human beings are so complex that it is difficult to locate and analyze all the many factors that influence their development." An excellent chapter is devoted to motivation and within it is a good discussion on the management of the self.

There are some shortcomings: there seems to be little recognition of the "selves" and the "roles" aspects of personality; an attitude is defined in one place as "an emotion attached to a specific object or relation"; the statement that "persons vary greatly in their emotions. . ." should probably have read "vary greatly in the display of their emotions"; and "positive attitudes (sometimes called sentiments). . ." seems questionable. For practical purposes, the book closes with several chapters devoted to family life adjustments.

M.J.V.

GEO-ECONOMIC REGIONALISM AND WORLD FEDERATION. By Maurice Parmelee. New York: Exposition Press, 1949, pp. xii+137.

There can be, according to the author, no permanent peace so long as each nation retains its sovereignty. World organization, to be effective, must have some unit other than the nation, and regional arrangements are considered here as a solution. The region would limit national sovereignty and furnish a unit of organization for a world federation.

In the development of the thesis, Part I analyzes regionalism as a basis for world federation. Forces for and against regionalism are reviewed; the criteria of geoeconomic regionalism are discussed. It is shown in what respects regional governments could have supervisory, economic, and planning functions. The essential features and functions of a world federation are outlined.

The second part, "The Delineation of Regions," is of particular interest. Distinctions are made for geographic, economic, and geoeconomic regions. The author insists it is necessary to combine and coordinate the geographical criteria with the economic criteria of a region. It is maintained that neither self-sufficiency nor interdependence, in and of itself, can be regarded as of primary importance in constituting a region. The important considerations in regionalism are convenience for planning, administrative efficiency, the future possibilities of a region, and other factors. Fourteen geoeconomic regions are compared by the author to indicate their relative rank in habitable area, approximate population, density of population, and econographic index. The author's final interest is in federation promoted through regional organization.

J.E.N.

LABOR DICTIONARY: A Concise Compendium of Labor Information. By Paul Hubert Casselman. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949, pp. 554.

This volume contains 2,500 entries, consisting chiefly of definitions of labor terms, but it also gives information regarding labor legislation acts, accounts of labor agencies and unions, and brief biographical sketches of some of the leading labor leaders. The emphasis is placed on the comprehensiveness of the number of entries rather than on the exhaustiveness of each entry. It is intended as a concise reference guide.

The entries are classified in alphabetical order, with cross references to related terms. Where several definitions are given they are numbered to indicate that the terms have several meanings or have been variously defined. Though some of the subject matter is of a controversial nature, the author has endeavored to treat the topics objectively. While some of the definitions lack preciseness, the volume constitutes an important contribution toward the understanding of labor terms, and the author is hopeful that it will contribute to industrial peace by delimitating fields of discord.

M.H.N.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GROUP ON THE JUDGMENTS OF CHILDREN. By Ruth W. Berenda. New York: King's Crown Press, 1950, pp. xiv+86.

In a Foreword, Gardner Murphy indicates that social psychology is much interested in the problems of social perception or, more specifically, in "the dynamics which govern perceiving when social pressures require that one define the situation in one way or another." The author describes her experiments in the laboratory along this line. For example, what happens if a minority of one child finds all the rest of a small group of children differing from him? A significant change occurs in the judgments of the minority child, with the younger children following the group more than do older children. When the teacher's judgment differs from a child's, it was found, for instance, that "the role of the teacher is significantly weaker than that of a majority of peers."

A general conclusion reached is that instead of envisaging man "as a slave of habits and of the drive for gratification," we should also "recognize man's great need for structurization, for clarity, and for an honest understanding of the world around him." This study has been carefully carried out and indicates the fruitful possibilities for new research in this aspect of social psychology. The research methods used by Dr. Berenda are worthy of respectful study as a basis for a further development of experimental social psychology.

E.S.B.

INTERACTION PROCESS ANALYSIS: A Method for the Study of Small Groups. By Robert F. Bales. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1950, pp. xi+203.

Interaction has long been recognized as a basic concept in sociology, but actual analysis of the behavior of people interacting in face-to-face situations has been difficult. A method for observing, categorizing, and interpreting such behavior has been needed. One is now being developed at the Harvard Laboratory of Social Relations.

The method requires a group of two to twenty persons meeting in a place where they can be unobtrusively observed. Trained observers record each act of the group members by placing it in one of twelve well-defined categories and indicating the originator and the object of the action. From this data, rates and sequences of the various types of behavior can be determined.

Instructions for training observers and for determining and improving reliability are given. These are not so clear or so detailed as might be desired by those who wish to use the method, but some of the main problems are introduced.

Along with his contribution to methodology the author of this volume presents the theoretical framework upon which "interaction process analysis" is based. A well-developed rationale for the twelve categories is given, together with a number of hypotheses which can be tested by the method. The discussion applies and extends the analyses of social action and interaction that have been contributed by such sociologists as Von Wiese and Becker and Talcott Parsons.

The book is noteworthy as an example of the *rapprochement* between theory and research that has been so much talked about recently.

BRUCE M. PRINGLE

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. A Mid-Way Account of the Western World. By Hans Hohn. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949, pp. xii+242.

As a historian and political thinker, the author places in clear perspective the powerful ideas, or ideologies, which have most influenced the first half of the twentieth century. The ideas which are going to make or destroy the Western civilization include nationalism and pacifism, racialism and imperialism, communism and fascism, individualism and collectivism, isolation and world order. Though these ideas are examined as contemporary or as opposites, each is approached historically to indicate its roots and the more important phases of its development. The study is useful for its interpretation of the motives and ideas which underlie international and intercultural opposition today. J.E.N.

TWENTIETH CENTURY ECONOMIC THOUGHT. By Glenn E. Hoover, Editor. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950, pp. xx+819.

Twenty problems are analyzed by professional economists. The contributors are well-known professors of economics or of business administration and some of them are directors of research. They are regarded as specialists in the fields that they discuss and many of them have published material on the given subjects. The editor states that he selected the topics and vouches for the professional competence of the economists who were invited to deal with them, but he did not "edit" the chapters. Instead of grouping the chapters according to subject matter, the editor arranged them in the alphabetical order of their authors. Each chapter is independent of every other.

The book deals with a wide range of subjects, including social security, economic imperialism, taxation, fluctuating dollar, guaranteed wages, international economic policies, industrial peace, international commodity agreements, competitive enterprise, public regulation of trade unions, barriers of immigration, outlook of competitive economy, full employment standard, role of international monetary agencies, and direct control of prices. While the contributors apparently had in mind the general readers as well as the specialists, some of the material is technical and a little "hard going" for those who are not economists. Teachers and students of economics will find the book a valuable source of information, though they may not agree with some of the conclusions presented, especially in regard to controversial items.

M.H.N.

THE PASSING OF THE EUROPEAN AGE. By Eric Fischer. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. xvi+228.

In this brilliant and informative essay the author traces the spread of European civilization from its centers on the Continent outward to Asia and to lands beyond the sea. He shows how the new centers increased in strength, reacted upon the old mother countries, and have succeeded to leadership. The migrations and cultural interactions of the past century—the expansion of Europeans into America, Africa, Siberia, India, Southeastern Asia, etc.—provide the main interest, though the more recent shifts of civilization are also noted. There is every indication, according to the author, that the mechanism of cultural development favors the shift of centers of cultural activity to new locations after a few centuries.

In his 1943 edition the author held that there was no assurance of saving European cultural predominance on the globe, not even within

the sphere of Western civilization. In this revision the political preponderance of the United States and Soviet Russia has required a shift in his emphasis. It has become even more necessary to stress the development of non-European nations in South America, South Africa, and Australia as bearers of Western civilization. The author's conclusion is: "In general, the Age of European Western Civilization is gone, but transformed Western civilization may survive in new centers outside Europe."

J.E.N.

THE DRIVING POWER OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION: The Christian Revolution of the Middle Ages. By Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1949, pp. 126.

Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, a historian of the Christian church and a philosopher of the history of Western civilization, has been an educator for much of his life. He taught at Harvard and was a Lowell Lecturer in Boston and now holds the Chair of Social Philosophy at Dartmouth College.

Essentially, Rosenstock-Huessy is a synthesizer. He has sought constantly to integrate the various social science disciplines with each other and with the world of action. In seeking the inner nature and driving power of Western civilization he finds the answer to be partly spiritual, partly bound up with revolutions. It is in the Middle Ages that he discovers the dynamic seeds of contemporary Western thought. The tremendous processes of spiritual and social change have brought to life a new ethos resulting in new attitudes toward labor, technology, and self-government as evidenced by fast-growing medieval cities.

"This book buries legends. It should help to bury the legend of the technological backwardness of the Middle Ages and of the supposedly antiscientific attitudes of medieval Christianity." Modern economic and technological developments are placed within the intellectual and spiritual context of the Middle Ages. Neat separations of social and economic events from the spiritual are unnatural and strained when viewed in the wholistic approach which Rosenstock employs. Also, to separate the social and spiritual aspects of Christianity, he implies, is to imperil the life of both.

Karl W. Deutsch states in the Preface that Rosenstock's study may be considered more thorough, more dynamic, and more penetrating than that of Toynbee. This may be the result of dealing with one rather than many civilizations. The reader soon becomes convinced that the size of the book belies its contents.

L. R. JUST

MEANING IN HISTORY. *The Theological Implications of the Philosophy of History.* By Karl Löwith. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949, pp. x+257.

The author uses the term *philosophy of history* to mean "a systematic interpretation of universal history in accordance with a principle by which historical events and succession are unified and directed toward an ultimate meaning." It is assumed that the philosophy of history originates with the Hebrew and Christian faith in a fulfillment and that it ends with the secularization of its eschatological pattern. It is also assumed that an adequate approach to history and its interpretations is necessarily regressive for the very reason that history is moving forward. The methods and approaches of such historians as Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Spengler, and Toynbee are referred to for an introductory frame of reference.

In his interpretation of history from the Christian standpoint, the author discusses the contributions of the following: Burckhardt, Marx, Hegel, Proudhon, Comte, Condorcet, Turgot, Voltaire, Vico, Bossuet, Joachim, Augustine, and Orosius; a Biblical view of history closes the list. This scholarly and penetrating analysis should prove useful for philosophers, sociologists, and theologians.

J.E.N.

THE POLLS AND PUBLIC OPINION. By Norman C. Meier and Harold W. Saunders, Editors. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1949, pp. x+355.

This book is a verbatim report of the Iowa Conference on Attitude and Opinion Research, held February 10-12, 1949, at the State University of Iowa. The Conference brought together most of the outstanding polling experts and research students in the field of public opinion. The participants included Gallup, Crossley, Lazarsfeld, Dodd, Stauffer, Cantril, Chapin, Meier. The center of discussion was the polling problems involved in the presidential election of 1948. It was emphasized that the public expected too much of the predictions, and that the experts allowed the public to have too high expectations. One cannot read the discussions that took place at the Conference without recognizing the many, great, and serious difficulties that a nation-wide presidential election presents to the election predictors. The hope was expressed that by further refinement of methods it will be possible to reduce the possibility of error from 4 per cent to 3 per cent or even 2 per cent. In a close election even a 2 per cent error may lead to false predictions.

In considering the prediction errors in 1948 the conference speakers emphasized a number of factors: most of the polls stopped too soon and did not take into account last-minute shifts; the election results were too close to be predicted with absolute reliability; the polls did not go down the income scale far enough; the polls failed to consider how many lukewarm voters would actually go to the polls; the rural vote was not covered sufficiently; the polls could not predict accurately who would go to the polls and who would not go; women were polled out of proportion to men simply because more women were at home or otherwise available to be interviewed; the difficulty of predicting how the "undecideds" would vote was great. This conference seems to have been unusually successful in bringing to light the problems that still face public opinion predictions.

E.S.B.

THE DESIGN OF DEMOCRACY. By Laurence Stapleton. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. 301.

Democracy is examined as to both its principles and its context. For principles, equality, freedom, and self-government are considered. The latter is analyzed as a process of law and as a political process. The synthesis of definitions and interpretations of democracy in this part of the book is scholarly and should prove valuable.

The second part applies the philosophy of democracy in an analysis of trends in several contemporary states. The author's criticisms of capitalism and socialism, and even her own conception of a "mixed economy," tend to become confusing. There is not a little, however, which should challenge the thoughtful reader and make him alert to what lies ahead in this and other countries.

J.E.N.

AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE. By W. Gordon East. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 3rd edition revised, 1948, pp. xx+480.

Since the geographical pattern of political Europe is being reshaped after World War II, a new geography has become necessary, and this revision of a standard text is intended to meet that need. The book is divided in a way to provide a threefold emphasis: (1) the geography of settlement in Europe, (2) the political geography of Europe, (3) the economic geography of Europe. The purpose is to reconstruct the human geography of Europe at successive periods from the time of the Roman Empire to the late nineteenth century. History and geography are blended to provide unity. The study is exceptional in its integration of social science to provide a long-range perspective for an interpretation of contemporary international problems.

J.E.N.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY. By Evan L. Lewis. New York: Exposition Press, 1949, pp. 111.

The nature of the individual and society has long been a subject of man's investigation. The individual has been the hero or heroine in drama, song, and novel. Historians and philosophers have given special attention to society and its development.

This book is an attempt "to show the relation between the two by examining the nature of personality in relation to the various aspects of social life." Results of the study indicate that "the final criterion of true progress lies in the opportunity given to every individual to develop his personality to the fullest extent in conformity with the common good; and that such an opportunity may only occur in an atmosphere of peace and cooperation within society as a whole." One of the basic characteristics of man is that "he does not grow by himself, but only through the group." Intercommunication is a necessity for progress.

Lewis observes that "just as the individual personality grows by coming in contact with others and recognizing their needs, and grows fullest according to the extent of the identification he makes between himself and the community, so also groups or nations rise to their highest power and glory by identifying themselves with world interests."

That greater leisure for the life of contemplation will result in progress in literature, science, and art is, in the reviewer's opinion, an oversimplification. In general, the writer displays a unified approach, admirably avoiding the particularistic fallacy. The economic, political, and psychical aspects of society are given excellent treatment.

L. R. JUST

WEALTH OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. A History of Their Economic Life. By James A. Barnes. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949, pp. xii + 910.

This writer takes a broad approach to the history of the economic life of the American people. He realizes that economic history is a history of consumption as well as of production, that the spender as well as the earner shapes the material course of the nation. He regards the wealth of the Americans (including, besides money and goods, other privileges) as their one great distinguishing characteristic when contrasted with other national groups. Therefore, although the essentials of economic history are presented, the author gives more attention to other social, political, and cultural factors than is usual in studies of this kind. Problems of social conflict, of revolution, of social reform are skillfully integrated with the economic data.

The book is divided into seven sections: the colonial era; the period of revolt and readjustment, 1775-1816; the foundation years of national economy, 1816-1865; the golden age of industry, 1865-1900; the years of transition, 1900-1929; uncertainty and experiment, 1929-1941; world conflict and New World problems. These divisions indicate outstanding qualities as phases, though there is marked continuity in the story from colonial times to the present. The author's form of organization, method of analysis, and interesting style of writing are commendable features of this excellent work.

J.E.N.

EDUCATION FOR PEACE. By Herbert Read. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949, pp. 166.

The author takes the view that the only effective method of preventing war is educational. Even if by agreement the economic and political causes of war were removed, there would be other factors, such as aggressive instincts, which would have to be placed under control, and this would be a function of education. Peace must be, he says, a pragmatic project; and he calls that project "education for peace." In a rather loose-jointed manner the author scans some of the methods and objectives of education. No solution of particular value is offered.

J.E.N.

PERSONALITY, DEVELOPMENT AND ASSESSMENT. By Charles M. Harsh and H. G. Schrickel. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950, pp. vii+518.

In this substantial treatment of personality two professors of psychology of the University of Nebraska have joined efforts to bring the students of this important subject up to date. The book is really two in one, for it contains thirteen chapters on the development of a human being from his germinal heredity through old age and seven chapters on theoretical aspects of personality and studies of personality.

In the first part personality is traced step by step through infancy, early childhood, middle childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, and middle age to old age. The authors have combed the psychological studies on these subjects extensively and have produced a logical, developmental treatise.

In the second part each of several theories of personality is considered briefly. Attention is given to typologies, the psychoanalytic approach, the cultural approach, field theory, the Rorschach theories, the measurement and testing of personality reactions in different situations, and finally an assessment and interpretation of personality.

Considerable emphasis is given to "personology" as the study of personality (term was originated by H. A. Murray in 1938). A special treatment of Theories of Trait Organization is given in the Appendix. In the last chapter a subtopic reads Adjustment of the Person to Society, and another, Adjusting Society to the Person. These generalizations could be interpreted as suggesting that personality develops outside of society instead of being an integral part of society. The style of the book is lucid and clear-cut and the volume will prove to be widely useful.

E.S.B.

ECONOMIC PLANNING. By Seymour E. Harris. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, pp. xviii+577.

The plans of fourteen countries are presented and analyzed. A general frame of reference is given first, indicating the elements of planning, factors in economic decline and recovery, full employment objectives and the problem of unemployment, productivity problems in several countries, industrialization and finance, inflation, and basic issues in international economic relations. The countries whose plans are stated, each with a brief introductory analysis, include the United States, the United Kingdom and the Dominions, India, Germany, Greece, Japan, Norway, the Netherlands, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the USSR, and the Argentine.

The plans vary in their being indigenous or imposed from abroad, in their intention to reconstruct, expand, or modernize, to provide a planned economy, or to reach toward autarchy. Planning is examined also in the light of recent economic history. The study gives practical insight into the range of planning—at least on paper—of leading and progressive nations which are greatly diversified in economy, resources, area, population, and location. Evidently the age of planning has arrived.

J.E.N.

BIG GOVERNMENT. The Meaning and Purpose of the Hoover Commission Report. By Frank Gervasi. New York: Whittlesey House, 1949, pp. xii+366.

The American people have a right to know what was revealed and recommended in the Hoover Commission Report. The Report is so detailed and voluminous, however, that a digest for such a purpose would be essential, and the author has brought the essentials together in one relatively small volume. No fault is found with the fact that the government of the United States is big. What is criticized in the Report

is the endless duplication, the waste, the red tape, the lack of coordination, and the dead weight in the machinery of government. The Commission offered, after a two-year study, proposals for typical organization of a federal agency, with application of the plan for reorganization throughout the Federal government.

This summary indicates, in simple terms for popular understanding, the price of the bigness of government, the chaotic conditions of the executive branch, and the areas of waste—in political housekeeping, in the conservation of resources, in government participation in business enterprise, in bureaucracy, in government medical service, in the postal service, in scientific research, in its diplomatic machinery, and in military expenditures. The outstanding example of waste and inefficiency is the Veterans Administration, though there are plenty of other examples of startling proportions. The Hoover Commission Report will long stand as a significant achievement of Herbert Hoover and his associates who conducted the study.

J.E.N.

SOCIAL FICTION

ALIEN LAND. By Willard Savoy. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1949, pp. 320.

This is a bitter novel filled with the frustrations of a "white" Negro boy, his perplexities, his fears and his hates, resulting from discrimination, injustice, beating, degradation of body and spirit, even lynching in the South. The book is one of stark character contrasts—his ultraliberal white grandparents and Bill Noble, Negro-hating, Negro-killing Southern sheriff. Throughout, with minor exceptions, the plot is unbelievable, despite the vividness of its portrayal. The constant use of flashbacks does not add to its readability.

The central character's near-white, "passing" lawyer father marries a white girl. They get along well in New England until World War I takes him to France. He returns, determined to "lead his race," as a Negro. They move to Washington, taking their son Kern with them. The mother becomes increasingly unhappy and finally is attacked and killed by a Negro. Kern identifies the culprit and is treated as a traitor to his race because the trial has become a *cause célèbre* concerning white supremacy vs. equality of opportunity. He grows up lonely, an outcast, a dreamer, hated by and hating his father's Negro housekeeper. He is left to his own devices by his father, all of whose time is taken up as leader of the "Freedom League." Kern becomes neurotic, and, under

provocation, seriously wounds one of his tormenters, thereby being permitted to leave town and go to a white boys' school where he had won a scholarship for his writing and which, previously, his father had refused to let him attend. Here he passes, is accepted, adjusts, and then is discovered to be Negro. He then attends a Negro college in the deep South, living with his adored young aunt and her husband. The uncle is brutally lynched because the sheriff wants the aunt; she kills the sheriff when he embraces her but is in turn killed by him. Kern flees north, determined never again to be a Negro. He passes, finds a good position as a radio continuity writer, and falls deeply in love with a white girl. After one impassioned night he leaves her. Weeks later she finds him in his room, picks up a typed manuscript which begins "I was once a Negro," and flees. He is desolate, spends three years in the army, returns to become a top-flight continuity writer, but is still a tortured soul. He is assigned to work with a Negro who brings back Kern's confidence in himself as a Negro. He finds out that his old sweetheart does love him; they marry despite his "color" and he becomes an unashamed Negro, adjusting and happy.

Somewhat unbelievable and overdrawn, the book nevertheless possesses spots of insight and description which save it from real mediocrity.

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THE WALL. By John Hersey. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950, pp. 632.

The Wall is John Hersey's second novel, his first having been the fascinating *A Bell for Adano*. For his background he has taken the tragic agony experienced by the Jews of Warsaw from November 1939, when first the brutal heel of the Nazis fell upon them, to May 1943, at which time only a handful of survivors remained out of the original half a million. Hitler's *Herrenvolk* spared them no mercy during these years. Those who remember Mr. Hersey's brilliant reportorial work in his exposition of the Hiroshima atomic attack will not look in vain for an exhibit of the same talent which made that account famous. Using for *The Wall* an old device—that of discovering the buried diary of a Jewish victim of the Nazi fury, Noach Levinson—Hersey makes a kind of daily account out of whatever it pleased Noach to write about the life-death struggle of the Warsaw Jews. In a sense, it is like reading a dying man's report on the progress of a disease which is bringing him step by step nearer to Death, who sits in the corner of a darkened room, watching silently and awaiting the final gasp of the victim. While all

this adds up at times to a lot of dramatic suspense, it sometimes makes for many pages of laborious reading, a flaw in an otherwise superbly related tale.

Hersey invests his story with the skill of a playwright so far as the structure of the novel is concerned. First, there is the building of the wall around the Ghetto by means of which the victims are enclosed; then, there is the gradual shrinking of the wall as thousands of the victims are sent daily to the death camp at Treblinka; and, finally, there is the total erasure of the wall when all Jewishness has vanished from within the once enclosed area and nothing remains of the Ghetto save the burned-out craters which once were buildings. The characters, nearly all of whom are Polish Jews, are revealed with a stamp of accuracy that enables the reader to follow them through the narrow, filthy, death-lined streets of the Ghetto, into their own overcrowded apartment houses, the shelters, bunkers, and even the sewers of Warsaw, their last place of refuge. They are seen in their moments of nobility and courage, in their moments of determination to survive, in their moments of weakness and treachery to their own kind—all of which makes of them very human stuff. Some, like diarist Noach and Rachel Apt, rise to the crisis with heroic daring and unmatched bravery; some, like Mauritz Apt, escape from the confines of the wall and pass as Gentiles; and some bargain with the Nazis for the betrayal of their own relatives and friends.

Skillfully revealed are the folkways and mores of these unfortunates, held so tenaciously in the period of anxiety and treachery. To describe how they sought to maintain their Jewish way of living to the very grim end is in itself a noteworthy undertaking on the part of the storyteller. As the final entry in the diary, Noach begins to ask the few survivors some last questions. "What has made our lives worth living?" While he never asked this question, he reports, yet that was what they were all trying to talk about in their last hours. That is the question that novelist Hersey, too, puts up to his readers. What makes for this clinging to life for so long a time when inevitably the end is extinction? Or is it?

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